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ABSTRACT

This guide was designed to assist black delegates attending the 1976 Democratic National Convention. The guide is divided into four main parts. The first part contains information on convention procedures, standing committees, and various aspects of black participation in politics. The second and third parts lists the names of alternates as well as those of delegates to the convention. These two parts also include a general review of black voter behavior during the primaries, a historical review of black attendance at party conventions, a section on black women and black youth in politics, and a commentary on black voter potential. Part four contains some information on the Joint Center for Political Studies. The appendix provides data on the black voting age population in cities over 50,000 with 20% or more black population; congressional districts with 20% or more black population; the black vote in selected congressional and gubernatorial races of 1974; delegate votes state by state; and black elected officials in the United States as of 1975. (Author/JK)

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GUIDE TO BLACK POLITICS 1976

PART I

THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, NEW YORK

JULY 12-15, 1976

SP 010 951

JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES
WASHINGTON, D. C.
JUNE 30, 1976

Part I of the Joint Center for Political Studies Guide to Black Politics covers the 1976 Democratic National Convention. The Joint Center for Political Studies Guide to Black Politics '76, Part II: The Republican National Convention will be published in August 1976. For further information write JCPS, Room 926, 1426 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Caucus of Black Democrats, the Minority Affairs Division of the Democratic National Committee and the Congressional Black Caucus provided invaluable assistance in the production of this guidebook. Their contributions are gratefully acknowledged. Party state headquarters, national and state campaign headquarters of the presidential candidates, black elected officials, political organizations and individual delegates also provided assistance in compiling this publication.

The Guide to Black Politics, 1976 was prepared by the Joint Center under the supervision of Eleanor Farrar and Jeanne Fox in cooperation with the following members of the research staff: Maybelle Bennett, Sandra Bosworth, Annette Chester and Carol Jaka. Dr. Herrington J. Bryce is director of research.

FOREWORD

The Joint Center for Political Studies welcomes you to the growing circle of black men and women who are leaders in the political affairs of our country.

You are among 323 black delegates and 170 alternates attending the 1976 Democratic National Convention. Blacks are 10.6 percent of the total number of delegates and 9 percent of the total number of alternates. In 1972 blacks represented 15 percent of the delegate total.

In preparing this Guide to Black Politics, the Joint Center is fulfilling one of its basic missions, namely, to encourage participation at every level of the political process and in a wide variety of ways. We believe that politics is indeed the new cutting edge of the civil rights movement, and that blacks must bring to it the same enthusiasm, determination and conviction that guided their activities in the past. Every aspect of our lives is affected by decisions made in the political arena. Therefore, we must make our presence felt, our voices heard and our numbers count in that arena.

One reality of our system of government is that political parties are essential elements in governance and are frequently the pathway to power. Grassroots politics is, more often than not, party politics. Consequently, we must know how to use party structures and party personnel to achieve our objectives.

Your presence as a delegate or alternate to your party's convention is proof that you understand the roots of political influence and power in our society, and are determined to use your talents on behalf of all those who elected you, and most particularly on behalf of black Americans.

The Joint Center would like to assist you in every way possible to fulfill that task, both during the convention and upon your return home. We believe that you are a most important link in the chain of black political empowerment and your success here and in the future is of special concern to all of us.

This guidebook is a sequel to the Joint Center's 1972 study entitled Guide to Black Politics which was published in two parts. Part I was designed for delegates attending the Democratic National Convention; Part II was for delegates to the Republican National Convention. Each volume contained not only the names and addresses of all black delegates and explanations about convention procedures, but also additional information on various aspects of black participation in politics. The Guide was used widely during the party conventions by delegates, media, staffs of presidential candidates and in fact anyone who wanted to know more about black political involvement.

The 1976 Guide to Black Politics follows the same format, but has been expanded to include the names of alternates as well as those of delegates to the convention. It also includes a general review of black voter behavior during the primaries; a historical review of black attendance at party conventions; a section on black women in politics; charts and tables on black elected officials in the United States and some information on the Joint Center for Political Studies.

We hope that this year's publication will prove to be as useful as the one published in 1972.

A number of organizations will provide information and assistance to black delegates and alternates. Among these are the Minority Affairs Division of the Democratic National Committee and the Caucus of Black Democrats.

In addition, the Joint Center has an office and staff at the convention which will be glad to be of assistance to you. All you need to do is ask. Even if you do not require our help, we hope that you will stop by our office in Room 345 in the Statler Hilton Hotel. We would like to meet you and explore with you ways in which we can work together to sharpen the edge of black political involvement.

You have our best wishes for a successful and enjoyable convention.

Eddie N. Williams
President
Joint Center for Political Studies

I. THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION - 1976

INFORMATION FOR DELEGATES

The primary source of information on all convention matters for delegates is the Democratic National Committee (DNC) which is located on the second floor of the Statler Hilton Hotel, the headquarters for the convention. The Minority Affairs Division of the DNC is also located on the second floor.

The Caucus of Black Democrats (CBD) has its offices on the 3rd floor of the Statler Hilton, in Rooms 381 and 383. The Joint Center for Political Studies is located on the same floor, in Room 345. Other organizations such as the House and Senate Campaign Committees, Women's Political Caucus and Labor Coalition, also have offices in this hotel.

Delegates and alternates are housed in many different convention hotels. A complete list of the hotel assignments of each state delegation is included in Section II of this guide. Each hotel will have a hospitality booth or room which will be staffed to provide information and assistance to delegates. All delegates and alternates will be issued a free transportation pass, good on buses and subways, for the duration of the convention.

All delegates and alternates will receive a complete information kit delivered to their hotel rooms. This includes the official documents published by the Democratic National Committee as well as materials and information collected by the New York City Host Committee. In the kit you will find a copy of The Call for the 1976 Democratic National Convention which provides information on the distribution of delegate votes; qualifications of state delegations; rules and procedures of the Standing Committees and the rules of the convention.

The kit also contains the convention agenda, reports of the Credentials, Rules and Platform Committees, other official convention documents, a Bicentennial Issue of the New York Times, maps, restaurant and shopping guides, museum guides, and other information about New York

and its attractions.

For black delegates and alternates the Caucus of Black Democrats will serve as the central information point. Basil Paterson, Vice Chairman of the DNC,is the Chairman of the CBD and Frank Cowan, Director of the DNC's Minority Division, serves as Coordinator. Following are the task forces which have been established by the Caucus to handle affairs connected with the convention:

CBD TASK FORCES

Delegate Information and Logistics

Wilhelmina Delco, Chairperson
Cecilia Jackovich, Coordinator

Rules

Richard Hatcher, Chairperson
Ed Sylvester, Coordinator

Platform

Yvonne Burke, Chairperson
Barbara Williams, Coordinator

Credentials

Hannah Atkins, Co-chairperson
C. J. McLin, Co-chairperson
Fran Farmer, Coordinator

Media

Henry Parker, Chairperson
Frank Cowan, Coordinator

Organizations Liaison

Toni Harrison, Chairperson
Carolyn Jordan, Coordinator

Candidate's Liaison

George Brown, Chairperson
Linda Seagraves, Coordinator

Office Management

Basil Paterson, Co-chairperson
Frank Cowan, Co-chairperson

Beryl Bridges, Administrative Assistant
Ethiopia Liggins, Administrative Assistant

Volunteer Coordination

Ruth Charity, Chairperson
Beverly King, Coordinator

Host City Special Activities

Percy Sutton, Chairperson
Charles Rangel, Shirley Chisholm,
David Dinkins - Co-chairpersons
George Dalley, Coordinator
Eddy O'Jay, Coordinator

These individuals can be contacted through the CBD office, which will be open every day during the convention from 8:00 a.m. to midnight.

Special meetings for black delegates and alternates will be held every day in the Georgian Room of the Statler Hilton Hotel. The schedule is as follows:

Monday, July 12	3:00 p.m.
Tuesday, July 13	11:00 a.m.
Wednesday, July 14	11:00 a.m.
Thursday, July 15	2:00 p.m.

Other meetings will be arranged as needed.

The Host City Activities Task Force of the CBD is also making a number of arrangements on behalf of delegates during the convention. A booklet describing restaurants, nightclubs and other places of special interest,will be distributed to all delegates and alternates. The Uptown Chamber of Commerce - a group of Harlem businessmen, will provide transportation for convention participants who want to visit Harlem. A group of easily identifiable volunteers will be available to provide additional information and

assistance. A reception for black delegates, alternates and invited guests is being planned for Tuesday evening, July 20.

Details on these and other special events for blacks at the convention, will be available at the CBD offices. Staff of the Joint Center for Political Studies will also be on hand to assist convention participants. Please keep in mind that this guide was published before all final convention arrangements had been completed and stay in touch with the various people and offices that can help you.

CONVENTION AGENDA

Although a variety of special events and caucuses are planned for Saturday and Sunday, July 10 and 11, the convention is scheduled to open officially on Monday, July 12 at 8:00 p.m. and last through Thursday evening, July 15. The agenda remains tentative until approved by the convention, but it is expected that the major items in the order of business will be as follows:

MONDAY, JULY 12

8:00 P.M. to 11:30 P.M.

1976 Democratic National Convention convenes.
Opening ceremonies, welcoming speeches, temporary roll, report by the National Committee, film and keynote addresses by Sen. John Glenn and Rep. Barbara Jordan.

TUESDAY, JULY 13

1:00 P.M to 11:30 P.M.

Report of the Committee on Credentials.
Part I of Rules Committee Report: Election of Permanent Convention Officers and Adoption of Permanent Rules of Convention.
Report of the Platform Committee

WEDNESDAY, JULY 14

8:00 P.M. to 11:30 P.M.

Part II of Rules Committee Report: Matters Relating to Charter of the Democratic Party, etc.
Nominating speeches.
Roll Call and Election of Presidential nominee.

THURSDAY, JULY 15

2:00 P.M. to 11:30 P.M.

Nomination of Vice Presidential Candidate
Acceptance Speeches by Presidential and Vice Presidential nominees.
Adjournment.

FRIDAY, JULY 16

10:30 A.M.

Democratic National Committee meeting, Georgian Room, Statler Hilton Hotel.

STANDING COMMITTEES

There are three standing committees of the National Convention - Credentials, Rules and Platform. Each Standing Committee is composed of 153 members casting 150 votes, allocated to the States and territories in accordance with the same formula used to allocate delegates to the National Convention. Members of the Committee are elected at meetings of the state's convention delegates and are representative of presidential candidates who receive 15% or more votes from among the state delegation.

Each standing committee has issued a written report which will be presented to the convention in accordance with the order of business detailed above. These reports will form the basis of most of the decisions made by the convention. The procedure for the presentation of committee reports is discussed in Part Two (pp. 25-26) of the booklet Call for the 1976 Democratic National Convention. Although the rules provide for the presentation of committee amendments and minority reports on the floor of the convention, it would appear at this time that few such amendments or reports will be introduced.

A. Credentials Committee: Senator Alan Cranston (CA)., Chairperson.

The responsibility of the Credentials Committee is "to determine and resolve questions concerning the seating of delegates to the convention." It is required to make a report at the convention for "final determination and resolution" of all such questions. The credentials committee report is the first official item on the convention agenda. It is scheduled for 1:00 p.m., on Tuesday, July 13.

At earlier conventions, particularly those held in 1968 and 1972, numerous challenges to the seating of certain delegations reached the convention floor and resulted in lengthy and frequently heated debates. In 1976 few, if any, challenges to the Credentials Committee report are likely to be presented to the convention. Most challenges will have been settled at the meeting of the Committee held in Washington, D.C. from June 28-30, although there remains considerable dissatisfaction among minorities, women and youth with the make-up of many of the state delegations.

B. Rules Committee: Martha Griffiths (former Congresswoman from Michigan); Chairperson

The Rules Committee report will be considered by the convention on Tuesday evening, July 13 and on Thursday afternoon, July 15. This committee is responsible for establishing the Convention's order of business and rules of procedure. It is the Rules Committee that deals with many of the issues which directly affect the level of participation by blacks in the affairs of the Democratic Party. The committee report is available to delegates and the public prior to the opening of the convention.

There are eight minority reports of the Rules Committee, three of which are not attached to resolutions passed by the Committee at its meetings on June 19-21. They are as follows:

Minority Report #1

> Minority Reports of the 1976 Rules Committee would be considered at the convention when supported by at least 10 percent of the members of that Committee.

Minority Report #2

This report would make it possible to introduce certain planks of the Party Platform for discussion on the floor of the Convention. The procedure would be as follows: 300 delegates representing at least 10 states must sign a petition requesting discussion and must forward the petition to the Chairperson of the Platform Committee at least one hour before the motion to adopt the Platform is made. If more than three such petitions are received, the Chairperson shall choose for discussion the three bearing the largest number of signatures.

Minority Report #6

Minority Reports of the Standing Committees to the 1980 Democratic National Convention would be considered when supported by at least 15 percent of the members of that Committee.

The other five minority reports are attached to resolutions passed by the Rules Committee. They are included, where applicable, in the following discussion which deals with those sections of the Committee Report which are of particular interest to the black community. Unless otherwise indicated, no minority report will be introduced.

1. State affirmative action plans shall include plans to help defray the expenses of delegates who otherwise would be unable to participate in national conventions or conferences.

2. The call to future national conventions shall "promote equal division" between male and female delegates from each state. Implementation of this goal to rest with each state.

A minority report will be introduced. (Report #3) It would require equal division between men and women delegates at future conventions.

3. A National Party Conference is to be convened in 1978. (The first such "mid term" conference was held in Kansas City in 1974. Only 10% of the delegates to that conference were Black).

A minority report will be introduced. (Report #4) This would "mandate a Midterm Policy Conference in even years between National Conventions". The report stipulates the size and make-up of the conference.

4. The Commission on the Role and Future of Presidential Primaries, which was created in January 1976 with Morley Winograd, Chairman of the Michigan Democratic Party, as its chairman, shall be strengthened and continued and shall report to the DNC's first meeting in 1978. Included in the commission mandate are the following items:

a. Review experience of 1976 delegate selection procedures and recommend appropriate changes;

b. Review and implement resolutions passed by 1976 convention dealing with changes in by-laws and delegate selection rules;

c. Review various primary systems and ballots now in use and recommend for future primaries only those which assure that the delegate selection process gives participants a simple and effective way of expressing their presidential preference and that this is carried over into the selection of convention delegates.

d. Include in future by-laws the provision that access to the primary ballot should be simplified.

e. Study filing deadlines and seek to achieve a uniform system for qualifying presidential candidates for participation in primaries.

f. Construe the pertinent article of the Charter [Art. II., sec. 4 (ii)] to bar the use of delegate selection systems in primary states which permit a plurality of votes at any level to elect all of the delegates from that level.

A minority report will be introduced. (Report #5) This calls for the Winograd Commission to analyze and review rather than bar the use of loophole primaries.

5. The function of the Judicial Council as provided in Article VII of the Charter shall be strengthened to include the adjudication of disputes arising out of the interpretation or application of national Party law, with the exception of credential disputes.

A minority report will be introduced. (Report #7) This would give the Judicial Council the authority to review and approve state plans for the selection of delegates to the National Conventions and to decide challenges to those plans.

6. The Rules Committee approved two sets of resolutions dealing specifically with the participation of women, youth and minorities in Party affairs.

The first resolution, which was passed unanimously, amends the Party Charter (Art. X; sec. 3 and 4) to ensure greater representation of these groups "in the delegate selection process and in all Party affairs." Towards this end, the DNC and state parties "shall adopt and implement affirmative action programs with specific goals and time tables for achieving results." The level of representation of these groups is to be linked to "their presence in the Democratic electorate."

The second resolution, on which a minority report will be introduced, would amend the corresponding Party by-laws to read as follows: "The National, State and Local Democratic Party organizations shall undertake affirmative action programs designed to encourage the fullest participation of all Democrats in all Party affairs: All Party Affairs shall mean all activities of each official Party organization commencing at the lowest level and continuing up thru the National Democratic Party.

The minority report, (Report #8), would substitute the following resolution for the by-laws amendment quoted above: "Each state or territorial Party shall undertake affirmative action programs reasonably designed to encourage the fullest possible participation of all Democrats in all Party affairs at the first level of the state political process ..."

It is obvious that these two resolutions are of special importance to blacks and other members of groups that are "traditionally underrepresented" in Party affairs.

C. Platform Committee: Governor Wendell Anderson (Minn.) Chairman

The report of the Platform Committee is a lengthy document covering every aspect of American life. Many sections clearly reflect the positions and policies endorsed by the Caucus of Black Democrats at its meeting in Charlotte, N.C. in May 1976. A detailed analysis of the Platform from that perspective has been prepared by the Caucus and is available at the convention.

The following section is intended only as a point of reference on some of the issues which are of special concern to the black community.

I. Full Employment, Price Stability and Balanced Growth

The thrust of the Democratic Party's economic planks is toward reducing unemployment and its accompanying ills. Specific proposals include modernizing economic policy, particularly planning; full employment policies, with consideration given to the special problems of minorities and young people; equal employment opportunity; anti-inflation policies; opposition to undue concentration of wealth and economic power; anti-trust enforcement; growth of small business; tax reform; and fair labor standards and rights. Following are some of the specific issues discussed in this section of the Platform:

Full Employment Policies

This is the first issue included in the report. The Platform adopts the principles of the Hawkins Humphrey bill (H.R. 50) without naming it. It commits the Party "to the right of all adult Americans willing, able and seeking work to have opportunities for useful jobs at living wages." The Platform

calls for reduction of unemployment to 3% in 4 years; elimination of black-white unemployment and income gaps; skill training; and Federal Reservse Board accountability. It also includes a strong section on anti-inflation policies.

Small Businesses

The Platform commits the Party to making "every effort to assure the availability of loans to small business, including direct government loans at reasonable interest rates, particularly to those in greatest need, such as minority-owned businesses. Efforts should be made to strengthen minority business programs, and increase minority opportunities for business ownership. Federal contract and procurement opportunities in such areas as housing, transportation and energy should support efforts to increase the volume of minority and small business involvement." The Platform calls for similar programs and opportunities for women.

Tax Reform

The Platform pledges the Party "to a complete overhaul of the present tax system at all levels which will review all special tax provisions to ensure that they are justified and distributed equitably among our citizens." The use of unjustified tax shelters in areas such as oil and gas, tax loss farming, real estate and movies will be reduced; high income citizens will be expected to pay a reasonable tax on all economic income.

II. Government Reform and Business Accountability

In line with its goal of restoring legitimate popular control over governmental institutions and activities, the Democratic Party lists four fundamental citizens rights: The right to competent government, to responsive government, to integrity in government, and to fair dealing by government.

Specifically, the Party commits itself to the adoption of reforms such as zero based budgeting, mandatory reorganization timetables, and sunset laws which must not, however, jeopardize the implementation of programs addressing basic human and political rights. It calls for the merging or termination of conflicting agencies and programs and seeks the flexibility to reflect changing public needs. The Platform also supports increased Congressional agency oversight and program evaluation. In addition it calls for "tough, competent regulatory commissioners with proven commitment to the public interest," and for the creation of an independent consumer agency and an independent Office of Citizen Advocacy.

III. Government and Human Needs

In meeting human needs, the Democratic Party advocates an increased administrative role for state and local governments, with the federal government establishing standards and goals. Program areas discussed are health care and preventive medicine, welfare reform, civil and political rights, education, social services, disabled citizens, older citizens, veterans, and economic support for the arts and humanities. This section of the Platform includes the following specific items, among others:

Health Care

National Health Insurance is a major Platform plank. It includes support for such programs as comprehensive coverage, comprehensive treatment of mental illness, improved access to health care for underserved population groups and use of employer-employee payroll tax for financing the system. It also calls for improved health care delivery systems, including the training of additional personnel.

Welfare Reform

The Platform calls for fundamental welfare reform, suggesting the replacement of the existing inadequate and wasteful system with a system of income maintenance, "substantially financed" by the federal government. It requires that those able to work (other than mothers with dependent children) should be required to work. At the same time, the Platform calls for policies which provide job opportunities for those persons. The maintenance system should provide an income floor for the working poor and the poor not in the labor market. The platform also states that there should be a phased reduction in the states' share of welfare costs.

Civil and Political Rights

The Platform supports passage of legislation to provide voter registration by mail and for enforcement of the Voting Rights Act.

Throughout different sections of the Platform, strong support is given to equal opportunity and affirmative action for all Americans. Specifically included are equal job opportunity, equal educational opportunity, voting rights and housing opportunity. It includes a civil rights plank which calls for vigorous federal programs and for policies of compensatory opportunity to remedy generations of injustice and deprivation.

Education

The Party declares its support for compensatory programs, such as Title I, greater funding for education, and programs of bilingual and vocational education, early childhood education and education of the handicapped. On the issue of school integration the platform calls for enforcing the law and the Constitution and recognizes the need for pupil transportation as a "judicial tool of last resort."

In higher education, the Platform supports financial assistance for students from low and moderate income families and explicitly endorses continued assistance to predominantly black colleges.

Older Citizens

The Party deplores the erosion of social security benefits and advocates a reduction in health costs paid by the elderly. It also supports the liberalization of allowable earning limitation under the Social Security Act to permit older Americans to continue working.

IV. States, Counties and Cities

The Platform calls for a major effort on urban revitalization and a new partnership between federal, state and local governments to develop a national urban policy. It supports general revenue sharing with strengthened civil rights and citizens' participation provisions and an adjusted distribution formula to reflect the "need" factor.

Housing and Community Development

In housing, the Platform strongly supports direct federal subsidies to provide lower-income housing and stresses housing rehabiliation. It also calls for strong anti-redlining measures and enforcement of open housing laws.

Emergency anti-recession aid to states and cities as well as aid to major older cities are endorsed by the Platform.

Law Enforcement and Law Observance

The Platform recognizes crime control as an urgent national priority, and stresses the importance of restoring public confidence in the criminal justice system. It advocates increased citizen involvement; a correctional system emphasizing job training, educational and post release programs; a judiciary that renders equal justice for all; and programs to combat child

abuse and crimes against the elderly. It also calls for grand jury reform, a major drug control effort and a revamping of federal crime fighting funds. The Platform endorses banning "Saturday Night Specials."

Transportation

The Platform calls for the use of federal funds as flexibly as possible, including for operating subsidies. It also commits itself to policies which respond to the transportation needs of rural America.

Rural Development

The Platform acknowledges the problems afflicting rural America which lead to the continuing demise of the family farm and which have "prompted a migration to our cities which is beyond the capacity of the cities to absorb." It pledges itself to the "full implementation and funding of the Rural Development Act of 1972." The Platform also commits the Party "to overcome the problems of rural as well as urban isolation and poverty by insuring the existence of adequate health facilities, community facilities such as water supply and sewage disposal systems, decent housing, adequate educational opportunity and needed transportation throughout rural America." Policies to assure that family farms stay in the family are called for.

V. Natural Resources and Environmental Quality

The discussion of energy includes pricing, domestic supply and demand, dependence on nuclear power, competition planning, and mineral resources. Specifically, the Platform makes energy conservation a primary goal and it calls for an examination of utilities' advertising costs and for the transferral of such costs to stockholders rather than consumers. The Platform also praises the establishment of oil ceiling prices and calls for reform in the pricing of new natural gas.

In agriculture, the party proposes establishment of a national food and fiber policy fair to both producer and consumer, assurance of parity income to farmers, assistance to farmers in dealing with suppliers and marketers, and protection of fisheries. The environmental program includes resource management and land and ocean use planning, protection of resources, encouragement of recycling efforts, research, and uniform pollution control standards.

VI. International Relations

The Platform goes into considerable detail on foreign policy issues, touching on every section of the world and most major international problems. It calls for a new American Foreign Policy, which would be more open, more devoted to fostering freedom and justice in the world, more oriented toward our democratic allies, and, while continuing to pursue detente, less willing to "oversell the immediate benefits of such a policy to the American public." The Party is pledged to support military forces carefully related to foreign policy demands and to "our assessment of international realities." We must be strong enough to deter aggression and nuclear blackmail.

As far as U.S. relations towards Africa are concerned, the Platform supports the policies advocated by the Caucus of Black Democrats. These include a recognition of the intrinsic importance of Africa to the U.S.; the inevitability of majority rule; the need to formulate African policy in terms of U.S.- African priorities, not as a corollary of U.S.- Soviet policy; the need to disassociate our policies from those of South Africa and increased bilateral and multi-lateral assistance to Africa.

The Platform specifically calls for an end to the relaxation of the arms embargo against South Africa and for repeal of the Byrd Amendment. It also states that a Democratic Administration will work aggressively to involve black Americans in foreign policy positions at home and abroad.

BLACKS ON STANDING COMMITTEES

Platform

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Doris Bunte, Massachusetts
Yvonne Burke, California
Brenda Bowles, Indiana
Malcolm G. Dade, Michigan
Marion Humes, Illinois
Mattie Jackson, California
Minnie Jerrido, Pennsylvania
Clarence Lightener, North Carolina
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Versia Metcalfe, California
Jimmy Middleton, Texas
Jessie Rattley, Virginia
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Louis Stokes, Ohio
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Esther Harrison, Mississippi
Raymond Howard, Missouri
Davis Jackson, Michigan
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Warren Dawson, Florida
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Hazel Dukes, New York
Anthony Hall, Texas
Nate Holden, California
Lillian Huff, District of Columbia
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*AT-LARGE MEMBERS

**EX-OFFICIO MEMBER OF DNC BLACK CAUCUS

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Lillian Huff	1st Vice-Chairperson/Program
Jessie Parks	2nd Vice-Chairperson/Finance
Doris Rankin	3rd Vice-Chairperson/Communication & Pub.Rel.
Hazel Duke	Recording Secretary
Mattilyn Rochester	Corresponding Secretary
Aaron Henry	Treasurer
Ruth Harvey Charity	Parliamentarian
Mildred Nichols	Sargeant at Arms

II. BLACK DELEGATES 1976

BLACK DELEGATE REPRESENTATION 1976

In 1932 there were no black delegates and 10 black alternates to the Democratic National Convention. In 1976, as of the end of June, 323 black delegates and 170 black alternates have been chosen to attend the convention in July. During these 44 years of participation at Democratic Conventions, there has been a cumulative total of 1,199 black delegates. The increase however has not been consistent. In 1940, 1956 and 1976, the number of black delegates attending the convention decreased.

In 1972 blacks comprised nearly 15 percent of the total number of delegates. This year, blacks will comprise 10.6 percent of the total of 3,048 Democratic delegates. Since blacks represent more than 11 percent of all Americans, and since 26 percent of the McGovern vote came from blacks, a comparable proportion in the national delegation is a reasonable minimum relationship.

A look at individual state delegations shows:

- there are 33 states where there are fewer black delegates in 1976 than in 1972;
- there are 10 states where there are no black delegates. Seven states, Hawaii, Maine, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Dakota, Vermont, and Wyoming have no black delegates or alternates;
- there are 23 states where the black percentage of the state delegation is equal to or greater than the percentage of blacks in the state's population. In 1972 there were only 10 states and the District of Columbia where the black delegate percentage was below that of the black population at large;
- there are 7 states and the District of Columbia, where black delegate representation is five or more percentage points less than black representation in the state population. They are Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Louisiana, North Carolina and South Carolina;
- there are only 7 states where the number of black delegates increased in 1976. They are Illinois, Maryland, Michigan, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Texas and West Virginia;
- there are five states, in addition to the District of Columbia, where black delegate representation is more than 20 percent of all delegates. They are Georgia, 26 percent; Maryland, 20.8 percent; Michigan, 21.1 percent; Mississippi, 33.3 percent; and South Carolina, 22.6 percent.

Nationally black delegate representation does not equal the goal of 25 percent set by the Caucus of Black Democrats for the 1976 convention.

BLACK WOMEN

All women of voting age represent 52.5 percent of the total voting age population. In 1968, women constituted approximately 13 percent of the delegates to the Democratic National Convention. Female delegates increased to 38 percent in 1972. A preliminary count of women in 1976 shows that as of the end of June, they make up about 40 percent of all delegates.

Black females, who number about 12,592,000, are 52.3 percent of the total black population and approximately 11 percent of all females.

In 1972, there were approximately 179 black women who served as delegates to the National Democratic Convention.

As of June 1976, there are 128 black female delegates and 69 alternates to the Democratic National Convention. Black women comprise 39.6 percent of black delegates, and 40.6 percent of black alternates.

Participation within the structure of national political parties is one of many forms of political activity chosen by black women. For example, as of June 1976, there are 684 black women in elective public offices.

BLACK DELEGATE REPRESENTATION AT 1968, 1972 and 1976 DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTIONS

STATE/PERCENT BLACK POP[1]		NUMBER BLACK DELS 1976	1972	PERCENT BLACK DELS 1976	1972	1968[2]
Alabama	26.2	6	10	17.1	27.0	4
Alaska	3.0	1	1	6.3	5.0	0
Arizona	3.0	1	2	4.0	8.0	3
Arkansas	18.3	2	5	7.7	18.5	2
California	7.0	33	51	11.8	18.8	5
Colorado	3.0	4	5	11.4	13.8	8
Connecticut	6.0	3	4	5.9	7.8	7
Delaware	14.3	0	3	0	15.0	5
District of Columbia	71.1	8	14	47.1	70.0	67
Florida	15.3	4	10	4.9	12.3	7
Georgia	25.9	13	16	26.0	30.1	26
Hawaii	1.0	0	0	0	0	0
Idaho	0.3	1	2	6.3	10.0	0
Illinois	12.8	21	17	12.4	10.0	6
Indiana	6.9	7	11	9.3	14.4	8
Iowa	1.2	2	3	4.3	6.5	2
Kansas	4.8	1	4	2.9	11.4	3
Kentucky	7.2	2	5	4.4	10.6	8
Louisiana	29.8	6	19	14.6	43.2	18
Maine	0.3	0	0	0	0	0
Maryland	17.8	11	7	20.8	13.2	6
Massachusetts	3.1	4	12	3.9	11.8	3
Michigan	7.2	28	27	21.1	20.5	20
Minnesota	0.9	4	6	6.2	9.4	5
Mississippi	36.8	8	14	33.3	56.0	50
Missouri	10.3	9	9	12.7	12.3	4
Montana[3]	0.3	-	1	-	5.0	0
Nebraska	2.7	1	1	4.4	4.2	0
Nevada	5.7	2	2	12.5	10.0	7
New Hampshire	0.3	0	0	0	0	0
New Jersey	10.7	9	17	8.3	15.6	9
New Mexico	1.9	0	1	0	5.0	0
		30				

STATE/PERCENT BLACK POP[1]		NUMBER BLACK DELS 1976	1972	PERCENT BLACK DELS 1976	1972	1968[2]
New York	11.9	25	35	9.1	12.6	6
North Carolina	22.2	9	13	14.8	20.3	6
North Dakota	0.4	0	1	0	5.0	0
Ohio	9.1	27	27	17.8	17.6	3
Oklahoma	6.7	4	3	10.8	7.7	9
Oregon	1.3	0	2	0	5.9	0
Pennsylvania	8.6	18	19	10.1	10.4	5
Rhode Island	2.7	1	2	4.6	9.1	3
South Carolina	30.5	7	11	22.6	34.4	13
South Dakota	0.2	1	0	5.9	0	0
Tennessee	15.8	8	16	17.4	32.7	11
Texas	12.5	16	13	12.3	10.0	4
Utah	0.6	0	0	0	0	0
Vermont	0.2	0	1	0	5.0	0
Virginia	18.5	9	15	16.7	28.3	6
Washington	2.1	2	3	3.8	5.8	0
West Virginia	3.9	1	0	3.0	0	2
Wisconsin	2.9	3	5	4.4	7.5	0
Wyoming	0.8	0	1	0	5.0	0
Canal Zone[4]	-	1	2	16.7	33.3	0
Guam[3]	-	-	0	-	0	0
Puerto Rico[3]	-	-	0	-	0	0
Virgin Islands[3]	80.0	-	4	-	66.7	0
Democrats Abroad[3]	-	-	-	-		
TOTALS		323	452	10.6	14.6	6.7

NOTE: A dash (-) indicates figure is not available.

[1] U.S. Bureau of the Census; Census of Population: 1970, General Population Characteristics, Final Report PC (1)-B1 United States Summary; U.S. Government Printing Office; Washington, D.C., 1972.

[2] Mandate for Reform, Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection, Democratic National Committee.

[3] All delegates and alternates are chosen, but racial identification was not available at press time.

[4] All delegates and alternates from the Canal Zone are chosen, but racial identification was not available at press time. We were able to identify one black delegate.

BLACK DELEGATE REPRESENTATION AT 1976 DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

STATE/PERCENT BLACK POP[1]		TOTAL NUMBER DELS & (ALTS)	NUMBER BLACK DELS	NUMBER BLACK ALTS	PERCENT BLACK DELS	PERCENT BLACK ALTS
Alabama	26.2	35 (28)	6	7	17.1	25.0
Alaska	3.0	16 (10)[2]	1	0	6.3	0
Arizona	3.0	25 (23)	1	1	4.0	4.4
Arkansas	18.3	26 (23)	2	5	7.7	21.7
California	7.0	280(120)	33	10	11.8	8.3
Colorado	3.0	35 (28)	4	4	11.4	14.3
Connecticut	6.0	51 (36)	3	3	5.9	8.3
Delaware	14.3	16 (12)[2]	0	2	0	16.7
District of Columbia	71.1	17 (17)	8	8	47.1	47.1
Florida	15.3	81 (51)	4	7	4.9	13.7
Georgia	25.9	50 (35)	13	7	26.0	20.0
Hawaii	1.0	17 (17)	0	0	0	0
Idaho	0.3	16 (16)	1	0	6.3	0
Illinois	12.8	169 (83)	21	8	12.4	9.6
Indiana	6.9	75 (48)	7	3	9.3	6.3
Iowa	1.2	47 (34)	2	4	4.3	11.8
Kansas	4.8	34 (27)	1	3	2.9	11.1
Kentucky	7.2	46 (33)	2	3	4.4	9.1
Louisiana	29.8	41 (31)	6	4	14.6	12.9
Maine	0.3	20 (20)	0	0	0	0
Maryland	17.8	53 (37)	11	6	20.8	16.2
Massachusetts	3.1	104 (61)	4	3	3.9	4.9
Michigan	7.2	133 (71)	28	10	21.1	14.1
Minnesota	0.9	65 (43)	4	3	6.2	7.0
Mississippi	36.8	24 (22)	8	3	33.3	13.6
Missouri	10.3	71 (46)	9	2	12.7	4.4
Montana[3]	0.3	17 (17)	-	-	-	-
Nebraska	2.7	23 (22)	1	1	4.4	4.6
Nevada	5.7	16 (11)[2]	2	0	12.5	0
New Hampshire	0.3	17 (17)	0	0	0	0
New Jersey	10.7	108 (63)	9	9	8.3	14.3
New Mexico	1.9	18 (18)	0	0	0	0
New York	11.9	274(118)	25	9	9.1	7.6
North Carolina	22.2	61 (41)	9	3	14.8	7.3
North Dakota	0.4	16 (13)[2]	0	0	0	0
Ohio	9.1	152 (77)	27	9	17.8	11.7

STATE/PERCENT BLACK POP[1]		TOTAL NUMBER DELS & (ALTS)	NUMBER BLACK DELS	NUMBER BLACK ALTS	PERCENT BLACK DELS	PERCENT BLACK ALTS
Oklahoma	6.7	37 (29)	4	2	10.8	6.9
Oregon	1.3	34 (27)	0	2	0	7.4
Pennsylvania	8.6	178 (86)	18	7	10.1	8.1
Rhode Island	2.7	22 (21)	1	0	4.6	0
South Carolina	30.5	31 (26)	7	4	22.6	15.4
South Dakota	0.2	17 (17)	1	0	5.9	0
Tennessee	15.8	46 (33)	8	0	17.4	0
Texas	12.5	130 (70)	16	6	12.3	6.6
Utah	0.6	18 (18)	0	1	0	5.6
Vermont	0.2	16 (12)[2]	0	0	0	0
Virginia	18.5	54 (37)	9	2	16.7	5.4
Washington	2.1	53 (37)	2	5	3.8	13.5
West Virginia	3.9	33 (27)	1	1	3.0	3.7
Wisconsin	2.9	68 (44)	3	3	4.4	6.8
Wyoming	0.8	16 (10)[2]	0	0	0	0
Canal Zone[4]	-	6 (3)[2]	1	0	16.7	0
Guam[3]	-	6 (3)[2]	-	-	-	-
Puerto Rico[3]	-	22 (21)	-	-	-	-
Virgin Islands[3]	80.0	6 (3)[2]	-	-	-	-
Democrats abroad[3]	-	6 (3)[2]	-	-	-	-
TOTALS		3,048 (1,896)[2]	323	170	10.6	9.0

NOTE: A dash (-) indicates figure is not available.

[1] U.S. Bureau of the Census; Census of Population: 1970, General Population Characteristics, Final Report PC (1)-B1 United States Summary; U.S. Government Printing Office; Washington, D.C.; 1972.

[2] Alaska, Delaware, Nevada, North Dakota, Vermont, and Wyoming each select 16 delegates although they have fewer than 16 delegate votes. The number of delegate votes is as follows: Alaska, 10; Delaware, 12; Nevada, 11; North Dakota, 13; Vermont, 12; Wyoming, 10. The Canal Zone, Guam, the Virgin Islands, and Democrats Abroad each select 6 delegates to cast 3 delegate votes. A total of 3,048 delegates will cast 3,008 delegate votes.

[3] All delegates and alternates are chosen, but racial identification was not available at press time.

[4] All delegates and alternates from the Canal Zone are chosen, but racial identification was not available at press time. We were able to identify one black delegate.

BLACK DELEGATES AT DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTIONS

1932 - 1976 *

ELECTION YEAR	TOTAL DELEGATES	BLACK DELEGATES	% BLACK DELEGATES TO TOTAL	BLACK ALTERNATES	TOTAL BLACK DELEGATES ALTERNATES
1932	1,154	0	-	10	10
1936	1,204	12	0.1	18	30
1940	1,094	7	0.6	18	25
1944	1,176	11	0.9	13	24
1948	1,234	17	1.3	-	17**
1952	1,230	33	2.6	-	33**
1956	1,372	24	1.7	21	45
1960	1,521	46	3.0	37	83
1964	2,316	65	2.8	55	120
1968	3,084	209	6.7	173	382
1972	3,103	452	14.6	-	452**
1976	3,048	323	10.6	170	493
TOTAL	21,536	1,199	5.6	515	1,714

*Definitive data on black delegates to Democratic Conventions are not available. These figures were compiled from a variety of sources.

**Alternates Not Specified

ROSTER OF BLACK DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES

ROSTER OF BLACK DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES TO THE 1976 DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION

The following list of black delegates and alternates was compiled by Joint Center staff and is complete to the best of our knowledge as of June 30, 1976.

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Delegates	Alternates
Herman L. Harris 4435 Woodcrest Drive Montgomery, AL. 36108	William McKinley Branch Greene County Courthouse Eutaw, AL. 35462
A. L. (Tony) Harrison 1214 4th Place No. Birmingham, AL. 35204	Ms. Lula Andrews Brown P.O. Box 1613 Gadsden, AL. 35901
Cain J. Kennedy 317 Montgomery St. Prichard, AL. 36710	Ms. Lou Ethel Flowers Andrews Ave. Ozark, AL. 36360
J. Richmond Pearson 809 Bolin St., S.W. Birmingham, AL. 35211	Alvin A. Holmes P.O. Box 6064 Montgomery, AL 36106
Joe L. Reed P.O. Box 4177 Montgomery, AL. 36104	David H. Hood, Jr. 2701 12th Ave. North Bessemer, AL. 35020
Thomas Reed P.O. Drawer EE Tuskegee Institute, AL. 36088	Ms. Ollie Mae Kiel 274 Magnolia Drive Mobile, AL. 36617
	Arthur D. Shores 1021 No. Center St. Birmingham, AL. 35204

Alaska

Ms. Iola Banks P.O. Box 41 Kenai, AK. 99611	None

Arizona

C. C. Anthony 1903 E. Chipman Phoenix, AZ. 85040	Mike Shelton 1450 W. Magnolia Phoenix, AZ. 85007

Arkansas

Delegates

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Alternates

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2523 S. Ringo
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Ms. Maxine Waters
3475 Mt. Vernon Drive
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L. S. White
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Delegates	Alternates
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Ms. Barbara Davis 958 90th Ave. Oakland, CA. 94603	Al Whitehead
Julian Dixon 2206 West Blvd. Los Angeles, CA. 90016	
Steve Edney 918 Turimont Carson, CA. 90746	
Ms. Elizabeth Eastman 10445 Parmelee Ave. Los Angeles, CA. 90002	
John George 846 Wawona Ave. Oakland, CA. 94610	
Griver Tyree Hudson 6827 Autlock Ave. Oakland, CA. 94605	
Gilbert Lindsey 774 E. 52nd Place Los Angeles, CA. 90041	
Willie E. Mack 510 S. Forest Ave. Santa Ava, CA. 72703	
Ms. Joyce Miller 2424 Linden St. Oakland, CA. 94607	
Thomas Montgomery 12869 Louvre St. Pacoima, CA. 91331	
Alfred G. Murray 324 Almond St. Salano, CA. 94590	
Percy H. Pinkney 169 Farnum St. San Francisco, CA. 95131	

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Oakland, CA. 94605

Ms. Gloria Smith

Alternates

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Ray Jones
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Ms. Gloria Tanner
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Ms. Jeanne Hogan
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New Haven, CT. 06511

Henry E. Parker
20 Trinity St.
Hartford, CT. 06115

Alternates

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150 West St.
New Haven, CT.

Otha Brown, Jr.
208 Flanhill Rd. #6
South Norwalk, CT. 06854

Ms. Edith Mapper
121 Hillcrest
West Hartford, CT. 06607

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None

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5308 Spruce St.
Philadelphia, PA. 19139

Delegates	Alternates
Samuel L. Evans 1520 Spruce St. Philadelphia, PA. 19102	
Charles P. Hammock 1726 W. Atlantic St. Philadelphia, PA. 19140	
Ms. Heimine C. Hart 1607 Wharton St. Philadelphia, PA. 19146	
Marshall M. Johnson, Jr. 83 Gibb St. Emsworth, PA. 15202	
Ms. Ann Jordan 5955 Upland Way Philadelphia, PA. 19131	
Paul McKinney 5741 Chestnut St. Philadelphia, PA. 19139	
Robert C. Muse 3816 Pulaski Ave. Philadelphia, PA. 19140	
Ms. Juanita Price 6518 No. 13th St. Philadelphia, PA. 19126	
Jeseph Rhodes 1527 Oberlin St. Pittsburgh, PA. 15206	
Ms. C. Delores Tucker Department of State Room 302 Harrisburg, PA. 17120	
Ms. Mabel Williams 120 W. Hortter St. Philadelphia, PA. 19101	

Rhode Island

Delegates	Alternates
Walter R. Stone 8 Benefit St. Providence, RI. 02904	None

South Carolina

Delegates	Alternates
James G. Blake 326 Royal Palm Blvd. Charleston, SC. 29407	A. T. Butler 1920 High Street Columbia, SC. 29203
Oscar Pete Butler P.O. Box 705 State College Orangeburg, SC. 29117	Walter S. Fraser 202 Wood Street Georgetown, SC. 29440
James Clyburn 501 Juniper St. Columbia, SC. 29203	Donald E. Robinson Aspen Heights Greenwood, SC. 29646
William S. Fleming 302 W. Boyce St. Manning, SC. 29102	Ms. Juanita White General Delivery Hardeeville, SC. 29927
William S. Gibson 239 E. Broad Greenville, SC. 29601	
Ms. Alberta Grimes 14 Cloverdale Lane Greenville, SC. 29607	
Donald C. Hull 618 Clyburn Lane Camden, SC. 29020	

South Dakota

Delegates	Alternates
Gabriel Meadows 4800 St. James Dr. Sioux Falls, SD. 57101	None

Tennessee

Delegates

Harper Brewer, Jr.
990 Idlewild St., North
Memphis, TN. 38107

Richard Donnel
212 N. Highland Ave.
Suite 2003
Jackson, TN. 38301

Emmitt Ford
580 W. Mitchell Rd.
Memphis, TN. 38109

Harold Ford
219 Joubert Ave.
Memphis, TN. 38101

Edward Freeman
2435 Linden Ave.
Knoxville, TN. 37914

Alvin King
1288 Tanglewood
Memphis, TN. 38104

J. O. Patterson, Jr.
272 S. Main St.
Suite 216
Memphis, TN. 38103

Ms. Maxine Smith
1208 E. Parkway South
Memphis, TN. 38112

Alternates

None

Texas

Mrs. Robert Barbour
1904 Bunch
Fort Worth, TX. 76112

Ms. Juanita Craft
2618 Warren
Dallas, TX. 75215

Ms. Wilhemina Delco
P. O. Box 2910
Austin, TX. 78767

Francis Dirks
2654 Anderson
Dallas, TX. 75215

Ms. Myrtis Evans
4416 So. Ewing
Dallas, TX. 75216

Ms. Derlyn Davis
4528 Moorview Ave.
Fort Worth, TX. 76119

Ms. Betty Gatlin
12006 Los Credos
San Antonio, TX. 78233

O. C. Harrison
4505 Hirsch Rd.
Houston, TX. 77026

Ms. Erma Jefferson
B-5-A College View
College Station, TX. 77840

William G. Leland
1614 Sam Wilson
Houston, TX. 77020

Texas, continued

Delegates	Alternates
Anthony Hall 4300 Reed Rd. Houston, TX. 77051	Paul Ragsdale 5206 Rocky Ridge Dallas, TX. 75241
Ms. Cecile Harrison 5107 Dewberry Houston, TX. 77021	
Ms. Eddie Bernice Johnson 2107 Lanark Dallas, TX. 75203	
Wayne Johnson 2227 So. Lakeshore, #211 Austin, Tx. 78741	
Ms. Harriett Murphy 6635 Greensboro Dr. Austin, TX. 78723	
V. P. Perry 1101 N. W. 24th Amarillo, TX. 79602	
Nash Saul 1103 Niagara Houston, TX. 77051	
Ms. Dorothy M. Starling 1911 W. Harmony Tyler, TX. 75701	
William N. Thomas P. O. Box 896 Cleveland, TX. 77327	
Ms. Senfronia P. Thompson 8611 Peachtree Houston, TX. 77016	
Ms. Inez Tims 701 Treadwell Lufkin, TX. 75901	

Utah

None	Ms. Alberta Henry 319 So. 10th West Salt Lake City, UT. 84104

Vermont

Delegates

None

Alternates

None

Virginia

Ms. Ruth H. Charity
453 So. Main St.
Danville, VA. 24541

Ms. Patricia Delaney
P.O. Box 534
219 Massie St.
Lexington, VA. 24450

Charles W. Howell, Jr.
3521 Montrose Ave.
Richmond, VA. 23222

Joseph Jordan
2506 Myrtle Ave.
Norfolk, VA. 23504

Ms. Maude H. Pegram
411B No. Main St.
Lawrenceville, VA. 23868

Ms. Jessie Rattley
529 Ivy Ave.
Newport News, VA. 23607

Lloyd Sykes
General Delivery
Capron, VA. 23829

Laverte Taylor
General Delivery
Parksley, VA. 23421

William E. Ward
209 Shoreside Rd.
Chesapeake, VA. 23320

Harvey W. Mills
2819 Moss Side Ave.
Richmond, VA. 23222

Robert W. Puryear
Westover Farm
Red Oak, VA. 23964

Washington

Ms. Rosa Franklin
7827 So. Asotin St.
Tacoma, WA. 98408

Ms. Doris Kyle
7014 47th St., N.E.
Seattle, WA. 98115

Nick Greenlee
1377 Lake Washington Blvd. So.
Seattle, WA. 98144

Lyndelle Phillips
2035 N.E. 135th Place
Seattle, WA. 98125

Delegates	Alternates
	Jack Tanner 1022 So. Monroe Tacoma, WA. 98405
	Moses Turner S.W. 410 Skyline Drive Pullman, WA. 99163
	Raymond S. Williams 3111 37th Place So. Seattle, WA. 98144

West Virginia

Leroy Harris 5331 Raven Dr. Rand, WV. 25306	Ms. Lucille Meadows Box 642 Fayetteville, WV. 25840

Wisconsin

Ms. Ruby Jackson 2008 Center St. Racine, WI. 53403	Lloyd A. Barbee 321 E. Meinecke Milwaukee, WI. 53212
Ms. Phyllis O. Kirk 1347 No. 7th St. Milwaukee, WI. 53205	Wyble Rollins 6520 15th Ave. Kenosha, WI. 53140
Terrence Pitts 2353 W. Fond du Lac Ave. Milwaukee, WI. 53206	Lucious Williams 4165 No. 22nd St. Milwaukee, WI. 53209

Wyoming

None	None

Canal Zone

Delegates	Alternates
Ms. Roysalynn Hannah Box 35 Fort Kobbe, Canal Zone	None

No information was available at press time about black delegates or alternates from Guam, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, or Democrats abroad.

ADDENDUM

Six additional black delegates and two black alternates were identified too late to be added to the main roster of black delegates and alternates. They are not included in any charts or analysis. Including these six additional delegates and a net gain of one alternate (one of the additional black alternates replaced a previous black alternate), the corrected figures are as follows:

329 black delegates (10.8 percent of total)

171 black alternates (9.0 percent of total)

Two blacks were added to the Pennsylvania delegation as a result of a June 29 credentials committee ruling. They are:

K. Leroy Irvis
Room 110, Main Capitol Building
Harrisburg, PA.

Ms. Novella Williams
5308 Spruce St.
Philadelphia, PA. 19139

Ms. Williams was originally an alternate. She was replaced by another black:

John Braxton
1 East Penn Square
Philadelphia, PA.

Four black delegates and one black alternate from the Virgin Islands were added. The delegates are Sam Bough, Leo Neal Gordon, Charles Turnbull, and Janet Watlington. The alternate is Alphonse Labord. Addresses were not available at press time.

STATE DELEGATION HOTEL ASSIGNMENTS

Alabama	Summit
Alaska	U. N. Plaza
Arizona	McAlpin
Arkansas	Waldorf Astoria
California	N. Y. Hilton
Canal Zone	Americana City Squire
Colorado	Commodore
Connecticut	Biltmore
Delaware	Americana
District of Columbia	Americana
Florida	Taft
Georgia	Americana City Squire
Guam	McAlpin
Hawaii	Summit
Idaho	Commodore
Illinois	Waldorf Astoria
Indiana	Waldorf Astoria
Iowa	Americana
Kansas	Americana
Kentucky	Summit
Louisiana	Plaza
Maine	Gotham
Maryland	Americana
Massachusetts	Summit
Michigan	N. Y. Hilton
Minnesota	Commodore
Mississippi	Abbey Victoria
Missouri	Drake
Montana	Commodore
Nebraska	Barbizon Plaza
Nevada	Essex House
New Hampshire	Commodore
New Jersey	Waldorf Astoria
New Mexico	Americana City Squire
New York	Americana
North Carolina	N. Y. Hilton
North Dakota	Taft
Ohio	N. Y. Sheraton
Oklahoma	McAlpin
Oregon	Belmont
Pennsylvania	N. Y. Sheraton
Puerto Rico	Biltmore
Rhode Island	N. Y. Sheraton
South Carolina	Barbizon Plaza
South Dakota	Summit

STATE DELEGATION HOTEL ASSIGNMENTS (continued)

Tennessee	Drake
Texas	Essex House
Utah	Essex House
Vermont	Taft
Virgin Islands	N. Y. Hilton
Virginia	Barbizon Plaza
Washington	McAlpin
West Virginia	Americana
Wisconsin	Roosevelt
Wyoming	N. Y. Hilton
Dem. Abroad	Waldorf Astoria

III. THE BLACK VOTE

THE BLACK VOTE IN PERSPECTIVE

Black voters, not as fully mobilized as white voters prior to the 1960's, have become an increasingly important force in presidential elections.

Following the passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965, it is estimated that the number of registered blacks in the seven covered states doubled from 1.2 to 2.1 million. The continuing impact of the Act and the increasing politicization of blacks have helped tap the potential of an estimated 15,398,000 blacks of voting age.

In 1974, 58 percent of the total black population was concentrated in central cities with another 17 percent in metropolitan rings around the cities. Blacks constitute about 13 percent of the total population in metropolitan areas. These percentages mean that black voters are concentrated in the nation's urban centers, areas which successful presidential candidates usually carry.

In 1948, Truman's positive stand on civil rights, particularly the Fair Employment Practices Commission, is thought to have impressed blacks in states like California, Illinois and Ohio where he received overwhelming support from them. In this instance black support was particularly important to the success of the Truman candidacy because these three states have a combination of 96 electoral votes and because Truman carried them by only 17,000; 33,000; and 7,000 votes respectively. He won the presidency with a little less than 50 percent of the popular vote.

Although black support of Eisenhower increased from 21 percent in 1952 to 39 percent in 1956, the black vote was not as important in either year as it was in 1948, because of Eisenhower's widespread popularity. Eisenhower won the 1956 race with over 57 percent of the total popular vote.

The black vote for Kennedy, in 1960, exceeded the overall Democratic majority in four states: Mississippi, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Texas. Black support for Kennedy in Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Gary, Los Angeles, New York and Philadelphia ranged from 76 to 90 percent. Kennedy's narrow margin of victory included from 70 to 80 percent of the votes cast by blacks. He won the election with a little less than 50 percent of the popular vote.

Like the Eisenhower victories in the 50's, Johnson in 1964 relied less on the black vote (about 57 percent of those eligible) to provide a margin of victory

than did other presidents. However, it is estimated that 94 percent of all blacks participating in the election voted for Johnson who won the election with over 61 percent of the popular vote.

In 1968, the black turnout was about 87 percent of those registered. Humphrey is estimated to have received between 84 to 94 percent of the black vote although only about 58 percent of all eligible blacks voted. The narrow Nixon victory is believed to be partly attributable to the fact that many potential black voters did not participate. Nixon won the election with a low 43 percent of the popular vote.

Analysts point to political cynicism as one of the reasons for the lower national voter turnout rates in 1972 as compared to 1968. For this reason and because of the Nixon landslide, the black vote, which went primarily to McGovern (87 percent) was less important to the outcome of the 1972 election than it was in other years. However, it has been estimated that 58 percent of all Democrats voted for McGovern, 26 percent of those were black. Over 7 million blacks, 52 percent of those eligible, voted in the 1972 election which Nixon won with more than 60 percent of the popular vote.

The importance of the black vote in the 1976 presidential election is certainly no less than during other elections, including the 1974 congressional and gubernatorial elections, when even with a low 34 percent black voter turnout of those registered, blacks provided more votes for many winning candidates than the candidates' margins of victory (see The Black Vote in Selected Congressional and Gubernatorial Races, 1974). During the 1976 presidential primaries, black support helped Carter build his early delegate majorities. A survey of sample black wards and precincts in Boston, Florida and Chicago revealed that Boston blacks gave Carter 42 percent of their vote, in Florida Carter got about 70 percent of all black votes, and in Chicago Carter received 48 percent of black democratic votes.

On the Republican side in the race between President Ford and Ronald Reagan, Ford has had impressive black support. In Boston he garnered 62 percent; in Florida, 65 percent; and in Chicago, 78 percent of the black vote.

Blacks, who are the largest ethnic minority in America today, have the numbers particularly in the "big six" states, (New York, California, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan and Ohio) to tip the scales in an election, especially if the race is close. These states alone provide 181 of the 270 electoral votes needed to elect a president.

In 1968, the pluralities earned by the winning party in 27 states and the

District of Columbia were less than the number of blacks of voting age in those states. In the 1972 Presidential Election, the winning margins in 10 states and in the District of Columbia are less than the present number of blacks of voting age in each of those 10 states. As the major networks and many political analysts have been saying during the 1976 primaries, "The black vote is a sleeping giant."

Even in the states where blacks do not constitute large percentages of the total vote, the black vote is an essential factor in a successful political effort. The following table compares black voting age population to presidential pluralities in states where pluralities have been less than the number of blacks of voting age. The 10 states and the District of Columbia which have a larger number of blacks of voting age in 1976 than the plurality of votes in the 1972 presidential election provide 152 of the 270 electoral votes needed to elect a president. All twenty-seven states have an electoral vote total of 398.

THE BLACK VOTE AND PRESIDENTIAL PLURALITIES

STATE	NUMBER OF ELECTORAL VOTES	1972 BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION	1968 PRESIDENTIAL PLURALITY	1976 BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION	1972 PRESIDENTIAL PLURALITY
AL	9	553,419	509,000-*		
AR	6	212,952	50,000-*		
CA	45	881,341	224,000-R		
CN	8	108,544	65,000-D		
DE	3	47,427	8,000-R	55,000	48,000-R
DC	1	371,592	109,000-D	348,000	93,000-D
FL	17	630,027	210,000-R		
GA	12	728,675	156,000-*		
IL	26	872,717	135,000-R	953,000	875,000-R
KY	9	150,626	64,000-R		
LA	10	652,392	220,000-*	668,000	389,000-R
MD	10	452,587	20,000-D	523,000	323,000-R
MI	21	623,322	222,000-D	709,000	503,000-R
MS	7	473,392	264,000-*	471,000	378,000-R
MO	12	299,345	21,000-R		
NV	3	16,046	12,000-R		
NJ	17	476,502	61,000-R		
NY	41	1,443,643	370,000-D	1,622,000	1,242,000-R
NC	13	701,401	131,000-R	722,000	616,000-R

STATE	NUMBER OF ELECTORAL VOTES	1972 BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION	1968 PRESIDENTIAL PLURALITY	1976 BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION	1972 PRESIDENTIAL PLURALITY
OH	25	617,225	90,000-R		
PA	27	680,803	169,000-D		
SC	8	471,603	39,000-R	504,000	290,000-R
TN	10	410,384	48,000-R		
TX	26	918,744	39,000-D		
VA	12	548,285	148,000-R	580,000	549,000-R
WA	9	45,300	27,000-D		
WI	11	72,290	61,000-R		

*The party winning the most votes was not either of the two major national political parties.

Concentrations of blacks in municipalities are also important to a consideration of the black vote. The largest cities command a large number of the total popular votes within states. The black vote often represents a large proportion of the total municipal vote.

Of the twenty largest cities, 11 have black voting age populations which are at least one fifth of the total voting age population. The twenty largest cities are shown with the potential black vote in the following table.

BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION IN THE 20 LARGEST CITIES

TOTAL POPULATION RANK	CITY	TOTAL VOTING AGE POP	BLACK VOTING AGE POP	% BLACK VAP
1	New York	5,660,043	1,030,449	18.2
2	Chicago	2,285,559	632,766	27.7
3	Los Angeles	2,058,548	327,485	15.9
4	Philadelphia	1,341,343	397,959	29.7
5	Detroit	1,017,608	395,589	38.9
6	Houston	790,434	183,245	23.2
7	Baltimore	602,532	254,623	42.3
8	Dallas	556,531	119,081	21.4
9	Washington, D.C.	532,404	340,733	64.0
10	Cleveland	498,755	172,366	34.6
11	Indianapolis	505,355	73,321	14.5
12	Milwaukee	506,901	58,248	11.5
13	San Francisco	574,150	63,925	11.1
14	San Diego	508,181	32,224	6.3
15	San Antonio	430,885	33,433	7.8
16	Boston	478,743	62,992	13.2
17	Memphis	398,370	135,807	34.1
18	St. Louis	424,602	148,406	35.0
19	New Orleans	391,180	152,650	39.0
20	Phoenix	375,553	14,966	4.0

Following the 1972 Presidential Elections, the Joint Center sampled solidly black areas in 14 cities and counties. The black vote in these sample areas gave McGovern overwhelming support. A summary of the results in selected areas follows.

THE BLACK VOTE IN SELECTED CITIES
1972 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

AREA	SAMPLE AREA	CANDIDATES	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL VOTE
MIAMI, FL	14 precincts	McGovern Nixon	84 16
FULTON COUNTY Atlanta, GA	35 precincts	McGovern Nixon	91.9 8.1
GARY, IN	4 precincts	McGovern Nixon	89 11
CHICAGO, IL	9 wards	McGovern Nixon	92 8
BALTIMORE, MD	22 precincts	McGovern Nixon	87 13
BOSTON, MA	2 wards and 4 precincts	McGovern Nixon	87 13
HINES COUNTY MS	20 precincts	McGovern Nixon	91 9
NEWARK, NJ	2 wards	McGovern Nixon	86 14
WINSTON-SALEM, NC	5 precincts	McGovern Nixon	94 6
PHILADELPHIA, PA	10 precincts	McGovern Nixon	89 11
COLUMBIA, SC	3 wards	McGovern Nixon	94 6
NASHVILLE, TN	4 precincts	McGovern Nixon	85 15
NORFOLK, VA	12 precincts	McGovern Nixon	92 8
RICHMOND, VA	16 precincts	McGovern Nixon	91 9

THE POTENTIAL BLACK VOTE

THE STATES

There are sixteen states where the potential black vote in 1976 is 500,000 or more. Nine are in the South and the other seven are divided among the three remaining regions. There is a total potential black vote of 12,273,000 in these sixteen states. An additional 10 states have between 100,000 and 500,000 blacks of voting age.

The 1976 Bureau of the Census projection of all blacks of voting age in the U.S. is 15,398,000.

In the following five states and the District of Columbia, blacks comprise more than one fifth of all potential voters: Alabama, 22 percent; District of Columbia, 67.7 percent; Georgia, 23.7 percent; Louisiana, 26.4 percent; Mississippi, 30.5 percent; and South Carolina, 26.1 percent. The potential black vote by state is shown in the following table.

BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION BY STATE - 1976

STATE	TOTAL VAP	BLACK VAP	PERCENT BLACK VAP
AL	2,501,000	550,000	22.0
AK	231,000	-	-
AZ	1,555,000	33,000	2.1
AR	1,503,000	217,000	14.4
CA	15,294,000	1,079,000	7.1
CO	1,773,000	54,000	3.1
CT	2,211,000	115,000	5.2
DE	403,000	55,000	13.7
DC	514,000	348,000	67.7
FL	6,326,000	671,000	10.6
GA	3,375,000	800,000	23.7
HI	600,000	-	-
ID	567,000	-	-
IL	7,718,000	953,000	12.4
IN	3,640,000	242,000	6.7
IO	2,010,000	26,000	1.3
KS	1,610,000	66,000	4.1
KY	2,374,000	160,000	6.7

STATE	TOTAL VAP	BLACK VAP	PERCENT BLACK VAP
LA	2,532,000	668,000	26.4
ME	741,000	-	-
MD	2,863,000	523,000	18.3
MA	4,173,000	146,000	3.5
MI	6,268,000	709,000	11.3
MN	2,721,000	24,000	0.9
MS	1,544,000	471,000	30.5
MO	3,348,000	311,000	9.3
MT	518,000	-	-
NE	1,080,000	32,000	3.0
NV	424,000	24,000	5.7
NH	574,000	-	-
NJ	5,154,000	555,000	10.8
NM	771,000	14,000	1.8
NY	12,910,000	1,622,000	12.6
NC	3,847,000	722,000	18.8
ND	432,000	-	-
OH	7,459,000	664,000	8.9
OK	1,937,000	129,000	6.7
OR	1,653,000	18,000	1.1
PA	8,441,000	688,000	8.2
RI	648,000	18,000	2.8
SC	1,933,000	504,000	26.1
SD	469,000	-	-
TN	2,958,000	408,000	13.8
TX	8,503,000	985,000	11.6
UT	783,000	-	-
VT	327,000	-	-
VA	3,528,000	580,000	16.4
WA	2,536,000	47,000	1.9
WV	1,281,000	43,000	3.4
WI	3,211,000	85,000	2.7
WY	266,000	-	-

(-) - numbers are not shown where less than 100,000 blacks are living in the state.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS

Surveys have shown that many Americans cannot name their congressmen and that overall voter participation (and especially black voter participation) is declining. All Americans should be aware of the way their congressmen vote on issues and then cast their votes in enlightened self-interest. This is particularly true in the case of black Americans who represent less than one percent of the Nation's elected office holders, but about 11 percent of the total U.S. population.

A recent study by the Joint Center for Political Studies has shown:

> In 80 congressional districts, blacks represent at least 20 percent of the total population. In 61 of the 80 districts, the black voting age population constitutes more than 20 percent of the total voting age population. (Table II in appendix)
>
> Based on 1974 election results, in 48 selected congressional races, the number of blacks of voting age is greater than the earned margins of victory. Of the 48 districts in this category, only 9 have black populations which are 20 percent or more of the total.

Given these two sets of congressional districts, there are 120 in which the potential for black voter influence is great.

According to the Bureau of Census, the American electorate in November 1974 was the largest of any previous election -- 141 million persons in the civilian noninstitutional population were eligible to vote on the basis of age. However, only 45 percent of these persons reported that they actually cast a ballot in the November 5th Congressional election. The voter turnout rate for blacks - 34 percent - was lower than for whites.

Registration rates for blacks have been lower than for whites in each election since 1966. The lowest registration and voter turnout in 1974 occurred among young persons, only 21 percent of 18 to 20 year olds reported that they had voted.

Of the 80 congressional districts in which blacks represent at least 20 percent of the total population, 51 are in the South, 13 in North Central States, 12 in the Northeast, and 4 in the West. The District of Columbia is not included because it is allowed a non-voting delegate to Congress, not a voting representative.

Only one black member of the House of Representatives, Ronald V. Dellums, represents a district where blacks comprise less than 20 percent of the total voting age population. In Dellums district, California's 8th, the black voting age population is 18 percent of the total. In the other congressional districts represented by blacks, blacks of voting age range from a low of 37 percent to a high of 86 percent of the total voting age population (excluding the District of Columbia).

In the 49 congressional races where the number of blacks of voting age within the district is greater than the winning margin of votes, all races were won by less than 22,000 votes and 29 races were won by margins of less than 10,000 votes. Although in only 9 of these 48 districts do blacks comprise at least 20 percent of the population, the winning margins are so low that high black voter turnout can be a signigicant factor in determining the winner.

Congressional And Gubernatorial Races, 1974 December 11, 1975

In the appendix (Table III) are the results of a survey of black voting in selected Congressional and Gubernatorial races during 1974. Black sample precincts (that is, precincts where blacks comprise at least 80, but in most cases over 90 percent of the total precinct population) were studied to determine how blacks voted. The number of sample precincts in the study was limited by the number of solidly black sample precincts as well as by the Joint Center's ability to identify them. Sample black precincts were identified within congressional districts using census tract data (the Metropolitan Map Series), and by checking with knowledgeable local people.

The figures which follow are most useful if they are examined with an eye to individual races, to determine how blacks voted. Some generalizations are possible, however.

Black voters often make the difference between defeat and victory for a candidate, whether black or white. Usually, that difference is dependent upon the percentage of black voters in the political unit and the degree of their active participation (that is, turnout and support[1]) at the polls during an election. Where one of these is deficient, no matter what the predominant black voting pattern is, it is likely to have far less impact.

For example, in the race for representative to the U. S. House from Tennessee's 8th congressional district (which is 48% black), Ford (D) and Kuykendall (R) each received roughly half of the total votes cast; however, in the sample precincts studied, 54% of blacks registered to vote, cast 94% of their votes for Ford and only 6% for Kuykendall, thus upsetting the incumbent's chance for victory and replacing him with a black legislator. Had the turnout been less or the support for Ford weaker, the results in so close a race would no doubt have been different. Similarly, the South Carolina 6th congressional district (42% black) race for representative to the U. S. House was won by John Jenrette (D) who received 97% of the votes cast in the 12 sample precincts. This was crucial in helping him win his victory over Edward Young (R) by only 3,661 votes. Of his total votes, 47% were provided by blacks in this 1974 race.

On the other hand, both Ohio's House and gubernatorial election results from the 1st congressional district (which is 20% black) provide examples of a relatively high turnout rate (52%), but less solid support for the favored candidate. This resulted in a very close margin of victory for the winners of the race. Luken (D), was favored by blacks as a representative from the 1st congressional district, and succeeded in getting 89% of the votes cast in the sample precincts; however, this was not enough to prevent his defeat by Republican Gradison, whose final winning percentage was 51% to Luken's 49% of the total votes cast. Likewise, Gilligan (D) was the favored candidate for governor in the sample precincts, and acquired 86% of the votes cast there. It too, however, was too little to overcome Republican Rhodes' very slight edge in an election where each candidate polled roughly 50% of the total vote.

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1. Where winning percentages do not add up to 100% in the tables, minor candidates ran who acquired few, if any, black votes.

Black voters are showing more sophistication in their use of the ballot by adding their votes to those of white candidates who articulate black perspectives. In addition, the black vote is not as predictable as it once was. Although blacks voted for Democrats as opposed to Republicans approximately nine times to one, there are some notable exceptions, such as:

1. Twelve solidly black precincts in Baltimore gave Republican Senator Charles Mathias 52 percent of their vote in his race against Democratic challenger Barbara Mikulski.

2. Voters in four solidly black assembly districts in Harlem gave Republican Senator Jacob Javits 26 percent of their vote in his race against Ramsey Clark.

Black voter turnout was low during these off-year 1974 elections and fewer persons actually voted in congressional races than in senate and gubernatorial races (see races in Florida, Congressional District 10).[2] The range of black voter turnout rates (where turnout rates were available) is from a high of 63 percent to a low of 12 percent of registered voters.

Despite their minority, black voters do make a difference in elections. In a number of cases, black voters provided more votes for the winning candidate than that candidate's margin of victory. This is true in congressional districts where the percentage black is relatively small as well as in congressional districts where there are large numbers of blacks.

Certain facts should be borne in mind regarding the procedures used and assumptions made in this study:

1. Black voting patterns in the sample precincts are assumed to be representative of black voting throughout the political unit. Although it is possible that black voting patterns outside of sample precincts differ from black voting within sample precincts, these are reasonable estimates. It may be assumed that the black vote in the sample precinct does fairly reflect the pattern of black voting throughout the political unit (Congressional District).[3]

2. The accuracy of these estimates depends on the total number of votes in the sample precinct (where this data is available). Where there is a relatively small number of votes in a sample precinct (for example, in the race for the House in Alabama's district 2, total votes were 135), the estimate might be less accurate than in a sample precinct where there is a relatively large number of votes (for example, in the race for the House in Alabama district 6, total votes were 10,370).

3. In Senate and Gubernatorial races, figures are shown for sample precincts by congressional district rather than for the state as a whole. This was done because the number of sample precinct voters in a given district, compared to the total number of voters in all the sample precincts in the states, may not be proportionate to the percentage of blacks in a given congressional district as compared to the black population in the state.

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2. Where there are no turnout ratios in the table, registration data was unavailable.

3. The average number of people in each congressional district is 465,468.

THE CITIES

The 1970 Census identified 385 cities with total populations of 50,000 or more. In 89 of these medium to large cities, blacks represent at least twenty percent of the total population. The list of 89 cities is found in Table I in the appendix. They have a combined black voting age population of 6,226,885 or 40.4 percent of the total U.S. voting age population.

Twelve of the municipalities in this group have black mayors. They are:

Berkeley, CA
Compton, CA
Washington, D.C.
Tallahassee, FL
Atlanta, GA
East St. Louis, IL
Gary, IN
Detroit, MI
Pontiac, MI
East Orange, NJ
Newark, NJ
Dayton, OH

Although all 89 cities have black populations which are at least one fifth of the total, 51 of them have black voting age populations which are one fourth of the voting age population. In ten of the 89 cities, blacks of voting age represent at least 40 percent of the voting age population. In Compton, California, the District of Columbia, and East St. Louis, Illinois, the majority of the voting age population is black.

THE BLACK YOUTH VOTE

The Voting Rights Act Amendment of 1970 lowered the voting age in national elections to age 18. It took effect January 1, 1972. The Bureau of the Census estimated that 11 million new age-eligible voters would be eligible to vote for the first time in November 1972. It was also estimated that a total of 25 million young people, age 24 and younger, who comprise 18 percent of the national voting age population would be eligible to vote in 1972.

Following the 1972 Presidential Election, the Bureau of Census estimated that only 6,896,000 or 50.7 percent of young people between the ages of 18 and 24 years old actually voted. Participation by young Americans, during the 1974 Congressional races was even lower; 3,718,000 or 26.5 percent of the 18 to 24 year olds voted. The primary reason that many young people gave for not voting was that they were not registered.

In a special report, Census characterized new voters as:

- primarily white (only 12 percent are black);
- women, 50.5 percent (6.2 percent of all those 18 to 24 are black women);
- single;
- high school graduates, 53 percent;
- living in metropolitan areas, two-thirds.

Young black Americans, 18 to 24 years, whose voter participation rates have been declining since 1964, numbered 2,994,000 in 1972. Only 34.7 percent of them voted in the 1972 Presidential Election. Of the total, only 47.7 percent were registered in time for the 1972 election.

Potential black voters between the ages of 18 and 24 years represent about 12 percent of the total potential youth vote and 22 percent of the potential black vote. Voter participation among young blacks during the 1972 election was lower than that of any other black age group. In addition, the registration rates among young black voters are lower than those for any other age group.

In 1974, the Census Bureau reported that of the 34 percent of young blacks who voted in the Congressional elections, most live in the North and West of the United States. The voter participation rate among young blacks, for the North and West, was 38 percent of those age-eligible but only 30 percent of those age-eligible in the South voted.

The relationship of young blacks to the total black population is important not only because young blacks are less likely to vote than other age groups but also because the black population tends to be younger than the white population. For example, whereas 9 percent of the white male population is 65 years or older, 6 percent of black males are 65 or older; 14 percent of white males are between 25 and 34, but only 12 percent of black males fall in this age group. The median age for black males is 21.9 years; for white males, 28.5 years; for black females, 24.2 years; and for white females, 31.1 years.

There are 10 states in addition to the District of Columbia, where young blacks comprise at least one fifth of the total voting age population. The table on the following page shows the potential black youth vote by state.

THE POTENTIAL BLACK VOTE AMONG BLACK YOUTH (18 to 24 YEARS OLD)

STATE	BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION 18-24 YEARS OLD	% OF TOTAL BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION
Alabama	102,000	18.6
Alaska	2,000	**
Arizona	7,000	21.2
Arkansas	37,000	17.1
California	175,000	16.2
Colorado	10,000	18.5
Connecticut	22,000	19.1
Delaware	9,000	16.4
District of Columbia	72,000	20.7
Florida	119,000	17.7
Georgia	148,000	18.5
Hawaii	2,000	**
Idaho	*	**
Illinois	163,000	17.1
Indiana	42,000	17.4
Iowa	5,000	19.2
Kansas	15,000	22.7
Kentucky	29,000	18.1
Louisiana	130,000	19.5
Maine	1,000	**
Maryland	84,000	16.1
Massachusetts	24,000	16.4
Michigan	125,000	17.6
Minnesota	5,000	20.8
Mississippi	91,000	19.3
Missouri	55,000	17.7
Montana	1,000	**
Nebraska	5,000	15.6
Nevada	3,000	12.5
New Hampshire	*	**
New Jersey	89,000	16.0
New Mexico	3,000	21.4
New York	249,000	15.4
North Carolina	149,000	20.6
North Dakota	1,000	**
Ohio	113,000	17.0
Oklahoma	21,000	16.3
Oregon	4,000	22.2
Pennsylvania	144,000	20.9
Rhode Island	4,000	22.2

THE POTENTIAL BLACK VOTE AMONG BLACK YOUTH (18 to 24 YEARS OLD)

STATE	BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION 18-24 YEARS OLD	% OF TOTAL BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION
South Carolina	101,000	20.0
South Dakota	*	**
Tennessee	74,000	18.1
Texas	172,000	17.5
Utah	1,000	**
Vermont	*	**
Virginia	105,000	18.1
Washington	11,000	23.4
West Virginia	7,000	16.3
Wisconsin	17,000	20.0
Wyoming	*	**

* Less than 500.

** Not shown where less than 10,000 blacks are living in the state.

BLACK VOTER POTENTIAL

A Commentary

The analyses and data presented in this section of the Guide demonstrate the potential influence and power of Blacks in the political processes of this country. The issue is whether the black vote will remain "a sleeping giant" or whether Blacks will assert themselves in time to take their place among all those other minorities who, over the years, have achieved many of their objectives through the use of the ballot box.

1976 is a crucial year for black Americans. The country has survived the Watergate scandal and the resignation of a President. It has ended its involvement in the war in Vietnam and is coming out of the worst economic crisis since the great depression of the 1930's. During these years, Blacks have, on the one hand, made important gains - in politics, in education, in civil rights - but on the other hand they are still being ignored by the centers of power, they are still the frequent victims of discrimination, racism and poverty.

But a potential remedy is within reach. It is called political improvement. The first and most basic step to political empowerment is to demonstrate commitment and by registering to vote.

During the next few months, Blacks will hear a lot about the importance of voter registration. A National Coalition on Black Voter Participation has been organized to mobilize and support local efforts and programs. The Coalition, which includes among its members civil rights organizations, trade unions, religious organizations and social groups, has chosen as its theme for 1976: "Operation Big Vote."

Nothing less than massive black voter registration and turnout will enable Blacks to fulfill the potential their numbers warrant.

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IV. JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES

JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES

The Joint Center for Political Studies was established in 1970 to "advance the rights of political participation by Blacks and other minority groups and to assist members of such groups, elected or appointed to public office, to fulfill their offices effectively." These objectives are pursued through interlocking programs in research, public policy analysis, information, training and technical assistance.

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APPENDIX

I. Black Voting Age Population in Cities Over 50,000 with 20% or More Black Population

II. Congressional Districts with 20 Percent or More Black Population

III. The Black Vote in Selected Congressional and Gubernatorial Races, 1974

IV. Delegate Votes by State, 1976

V. Black Elected Officials in the United States-1975

BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION IN CITIES OVER 50,000 WITH 20% OR MORE BLACK POPULATION

Table I

CITY	TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL BLACK POPULATION	BLACK AS % TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION	BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION	BLACK % TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION
AL.						
Birmingham	300,910	126,388	42.0	203,095	76,642	37.7
Gadsden	53,928	11,088	20.6	36,344	6,508	17.9
Mobile	190,026	67,356	35.5	119,501	37,220	31.1
Montgomery	133,386	44,523	33.4	86,088	26,043	30.3
Tuscaloosa	65,773	17,345	26.4	48,192	10,496	21.8
AR.						
Little Rock	132,483	33,074	25.0	89,989	19,421	21.5
Pine Bluff	57,389	23,484	41.0	37,122	14,176	38.1
CA.						
Berkeley	116,716	27,421	23.5	93,022	18,415	19.8
Compton	78,611	55,781	71.0	42,517	27,633	65.0
Oakland	361,561	124,710	34.5	262,638	75,214	28.6
Richmond	79,043	28,633	36.2	51,973	15,996	30.8
CT.						
Hartford	158,017	44,091	27.9	109,631	24,620	22.4
New Haven	137,707	36,158	26.3	98,511	19,341	19.6

BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION IN CITIES OVER 50,000 WITH 20% OR MORE BLACK POPULATION

CITY	TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL BLACK POPULATION	BLACK AS % TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION	BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION	BLACK % TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION
DE.						
Wilmington	80,386	35,072	43.6	54,399	19,525	35.9
DC.						
Washington	756,510	537,712	71.1	532,404	340,733	64.0
FL.						
Jacksonville	528,865	118,158	22.3	343,029	69,085	20.1
Miami	334,859	76,156	22.7	250,296	45,825	18.3
Orlando	99,006	29,177	29.5	69,041	16,423	23.8
Pensacola	59,507	19,709	33.1	38,885	11,306	29.1
Tallahassee	71,897	18,234	25.4	51,302	11,741	22.9
West Palm Beach	57,375	14,020	24.5	42,754	8,755	20.5
GA.						
Albany	72,623	27,517	37.9	44,219	15,203	34.4
Atlanta	496,973	255,051	51.3	337,438	154,788	45.9
Augusta	59,864	29,861	49.9	40,853	18,181	44.5
Columbus	154,168	40,422	26.2	98,328	23,881	24.2
Macon	122,423	45,715	37.3	79,503	26,627	33.4
Savannah	118,349	53,111	44.9	77,752	31,153	40.1

BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION IN CITIES OVER 50,000 WITH 20% OR MORE BLACK POPULATION

CITY	TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL BLACK POPULATION	BLACK AS % TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION	BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION	BLACK % TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION
IL.						
Chicago	3,366,957	1,102,620	32.8	2,285,559	632,766	27.7
East St. Louis	69,996	48,368	69.1	41,848	26,232	62.7
IN.						
Gary	175,415	92,695	52.8	107,425	51,828	48.2
KS.						
Kansas City	168,213	34,345	20.4	109,025	20,123	18.4
KY.						
Louisville	361,472	86,040	23.8	246,192	51,286	20.8
LA.						
Baton Rouge	165,963	46,198	27.8	111,221	27,449	24.6
Lafayette	68,908	17,162	24.9	43,233	9,351	21.6
Lake Charles	77,998	24,262	31.1	47,991	13,270	27.7
Monroe	56,374	21,540	38.2	36,406	11,893	32.7
New Orleans	593,471	267,308	45.2	391,180	152,650	39.0
Shreveport	182,064	62,152	34.1	117,922	35,990	30.5

BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION IN CITIES OVER 50,000 WITH 20% OR MORE BLACK POPULATION

CITY	TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL BLACK POPULATION	BLACK AS % TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION	BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION	BLACK % TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION
MD.						
Baltimore	905,759	420,210	46.4	602,532	254,623	40.8
MI.						
Detroit	1,511,482	660,428	43.7	1,017,608	395,589	38.9
Flint	193,317	54,237	28.1	121,525	29,296	24.1
Pontiac	85,279	22,760	26.6	53,472	12,356	23.1
Saginaw	91,849	22,288	24.3	57,216	11,560	20.2
MS.						
Jackson	153,968	61,063	39.7	99,136	34,492	34.8
MO.						
Kansas City	507,087	112,005	22.1	340,917	64,860	19.0
St. Louis	622,236	254,191	40.9	424,602	148,406	35.0
NJ.						
Camden	102,551	40,132	39.1	66,025	22,063	33.4
East Orange	75,471	40,099	53.1	55,898	25,915	46.3
Jersey City	260,545	54,595	21.0	179,600	30,564	17.0
Newark	382,417	207,458	54.3	240,033	115,127	48.0
Paterson	144,824	38,919	26.9	96,446	20,441	21.2
Trenton	104,638	39,671	37.9	71,722	22,375	31.2

BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION IN CITIES OVER 50,000 WITH 20% OR MORE BLACK POPULATION

CITY	TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL BLACK POPULATION	BLACK AS % TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION	BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION	BLACK % TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION
NY.						
Buffalo	462,768	94,329	20.4	320,463	53,272	16.6
Mount Vernon	72,778	25,883	35.6	52,293	16,746	32.0
New York City	7,894,862	1,668,115	21.1	5,660,043	1,030,449	18.2
NC.						
Charlotte	241,178	72,972	30.3	157,100	42,123	26.8
Durham	95,438	37,018	38.8	67,618	23,914	35.4
Fayetteville	53,510	20,463	38.2	34,252	11,902	34.7
Greensboro	144,076	40,633	28.2	96,783	25,586	26.4
High Point	63,204	13,690	21.7	41,823	7,669	18.3
Raleigh	121,577	27,594	22.7	85,857	18,073	21.1
Winston Salem	132,913	45,533	34.3	88,995	27,741	31.2
OH.						
Cincinnati	452,524	125,070	27.6	312,055	74,803	24.0
Cleveland	750,903	287,841	38.3	498,755	172,366	34.6
Dayton	243,601	74,284	30.5	166,849	44,562	26.7
Youngstown	139,788	35,285	25.2	95,639	21,062	22.0

BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION IN CITIES OVER 50,000 WITH 20% OR MORE BLACK POPULATION

CITY	TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL BLACK POPULATION	BLACK AS % TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION	BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION	BLACK % TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION
PA.						
Chester	56,331	25,469	45.2	37,186	14,774	39.7
Harrisburg	68,061	20,911	30.7	47,711	11,814	24.8
Philadelphia	1,948,609	653,791	33.6	1,341,343	397,959	29.7
Pittsburg	520,117	104,904	20.2	372,191	65,236	17.5
SC.						
Charleston	66,945	30,251	45.2	44,127	16,946	38.4
Columbia	113,542	33,998	29.9	86,225	22,165	25.7
Greenville	61,208	19,145	31.3	41,811	11,295	27.0
TN.						
Chattanooga	119,082	42,610	35,8	81,218	25,734	31.7
Memphis	623,530	242,513	38.9	398,370	135,807	34.1
TX.						
Beaumont	115,919	35,553	30.7	76,177	20,730	27.2
Dallas	844,401	210,238	24.9	556,531	119,081	21.4
Galveston	61,809	18,143	29.4	42,032	10,932	26.0
Houston	1,232,802	316,551	25.7	790,434	183,245	23.2
Port Arthur	57,371	22,994	40.1	37,636	13,033	34.6

BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION IN CITIES OVER 50,000 WITH 20% OR MORE BLACK POPULATION

CITY	TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL BLACK POPULATION	BLACK AS % TOTAL POPULATION	TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION	BLACK VOTING AGE POPULATION	BLACK % TOTAL VOTING AGE POPULATION
TX. (cont)						
Tyler	57,770	12,320	21.3	38,808	7,455	19.2
Waco	95,326	18,955	20.0	66,850	11,454	17.1
VA.						
Chesapeake	89,580	20,669	23.1	54,975	11,587	21.0
Hampton	120,779	30,619	25.4	75,989	18,736	24.7
Lynchburg	54,083	12,583	23.2	37,809	7,852	20.8
Newport News	138,177	39,196	28.4	89,869	23,115	25.7
Norfolk	307,951	87,261	28.3	213,887	52,311	24.5
Portsmouth	110,963	44,320	39.9	71,374	25,115	35.2
Richmond	249,621	104,766	42.0	173,462	64,776	37.3

II. CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS WITH 20 PERCENT OR MORE BLACK POPULATION

Congressional Districts with 20 percent or more Black Population
JCPS Research Department -- December 1975

TABLE II

STATE	Total Black	Percent Black Population	Total Number Congressional Districts	Congressional District Number	Black Population of District	Percent Black of District	Total Voting Age Population of District	Black Voting Age Population	Percent Black Voting Age Population	Congressional Representative	Principal City In Congressional District
Alabama	903,000	26.2%	7	1	160,741	32.7	302,373	86,705	29	Jack Edwards	Mobile
				2	146,345	29.8	316,740	81,877	26	William L. Dickinson	Montgomery
				3	154,268	31.3	317,093	84,831	27	William Nichols	Anniston
				6	147,849	30.0	326,861	88,635	27	John H. Buchanan, Jr	Birmingham
				7	186,493	37.9	311,969	102,583	33	Walter Flowers	Tuscaloosa
Arkansas	352,539	18.3%	4	1	110,722	23.1	303,439	57,446	19	William V. Alexander	Jonesboro
				4	150,734	31.3	313,564	85,041	27	R. H. Thornton	Pine Bluff
California	1,399,430	7.0%	43	8	96,595	20.9	347,089	62,819	18	Ronald V. Dellums *	Oakland
				28	185,808	39.9	330,374	121,831	37	Yvonne B. Burke *	Los Angeles
				29	274,524	59.1	290,498	156,091	54	Augustus F. Hawkins *	Los Angeles
				31	128,940	27.8	290,480	67,369	23	Charles H. Wilson	Compton
Florida	1,041,971	15.3%	15	2	126,720	28.0	297,700	71,824	24	Don Fuqua	Tallahasee
				3	117,682	26.0	291,939	68,372	23	Charles E. Bennett	Jacksonville
Georgia	1,184,062	25.8%	10	1	153,258	33.6	288,360	85,480	30	Ronald Bo Ginn	Savannah
				2	169,393	36.8	283,487	90,401	32	M. Dawson Mathis	Albany
				3	147,324	32.0	292,612	82,812	28	Jack T. Brinkley	Columbus
				5	203,650	44.2	313,414	124,410	40	Andrew Young*	Atlanta
				8	141,988	31.0	291,540	78,909	27	Williamson S. Stuckey	Macon
				10	151,216	32.8	299,272	84,677	28	Robert G. Stephens	Augusta
Illinois	1,422,870	12.8%	24	1	411,262	88.9	301,472	259,195	86	Ralph H. Metcalfe *	Chicago
				2	184,439	39.7	301,794	103,717	34	Morgan G. Murphy	Chicago
				5	145,026	31.1	304,866	81,700	27	John G. Fary	Chicago
				7	255,082	54.9	275,240	129,312	47	Cardiss Collins *	Chicago
Indiana	356,379	6.9%	11	1	112,026	23.7	292,093	62,333	21	Ray J. Madden	Gary
				11	105,810	22.4	303,733	61,150	20	Andrew Jacobs	Indianapolis
Kentucky	230,406	7.2%	7	3	91,755	19.9	306,898	54,167	18	Romano L. Mazzoli	Paducah

Congressional Districts with 20 percent or more Black Population
JCPS Research Department -- December 1975

STATE	Total Black	Percent Black Population	Total Number Congressional Districts	Congressional District Number	Black Population of District	Percent Black of District	Total Voting Age Population of District	Black Voting Age Population	Percent Black Voting Age Population	Congressional Representative	Principal City In Congressional District
Louisiana	1,086,029	29.8%	8	1	141,827	31.2	280,698	74,711	27	F. Edward Hebert	New Orleans
				2	180,451	39.7	296,023	105,766	36	Corinne C. Boggs	New Orleans
				4	141,827	31.2	294,034	81,482	28	Joe D. Waggonner	Shreveport
				5	157,095	34.5	284,312	84,709	30	Otto E. Passman	Monroe
				6	135,523	29.7	283,665	76,218	27	W. Henson Moore	Baton Rouge
				7	96,189	21.1	273,150	51,238	19	John B. Breaux	Lake Charles
				8	165,363	36.2	270,179	88,354	33	Gillis W. Long	Alexandria
Michigan	990,663	11.2%	19	1	327,389	70.1	309,222	199,110	64	John Conyers *	Detroit
				13	305,862	65.8	302,022	179,646	59	Charles C. Diggs *	Detroit
Mississippi	815,626	36.8%	5	1	153,979	35.5	267,605	78,067	29	Jamie L. Whitten	Clarksdale
				2	202,418	45.9	265,625	103,655	39	David R. Bowen	Greenville
				3	179,950	40.4	275,629	95,784	35	Gillespie V. Montgomery	Meridian
				4	191,701	43.1	274,966	104,365	38	Thad Cochran	Jackson
Missouri	479,838	10.3%	10	1	254,089	54.3	307,366	147,678	48	William L. Clay *	St. Louis
				5	112,068	24.0	316,425	64,608	20	Richard Bolling	Kansas City
New Jersey	769,245	10.7	15	10	247,531	51.8	308,839	140,614	46	Peter W. Rodino, Jr.	New Brunswick
New York	2,165,072	11.9	39	7	170,750	36.5	335,013	104,727	31	Joseph P. Addabbo	New York City
				12	252,234	53.9	272,892	138,901	51	Shirley A. Chisholm *	New York City
				14	216,976	46.4	302,882	134,333	44	Frederick W. Richmond	New York City
				16	103,338	22.1	341,487	64,351	19	Elizabeth Holtzman	New York City
				19	274,143	58.7	329,557	190,028	58	Charles B. Rangel *	New York City
				21	196,834	42.1	270,162	112,568	42	Herman Badillo	New York City
				37	96,638	20.7	321,700	54,681	17	Henry J. Nowak	Buffalo

Congressional Districts with 20 percent or more Black Population
JCPS Research Department - December 1975

STATE	Total Black	Percent Black Population	Total Number Congressional Districts	Congressional District Number	Black Population of District	Percent Black of District	Total Voting Age Population of District	Black Voting Age Population	Percent Black Voting Age Population	Congressional Representative	Principal City In Congressional District
North Carolina	1,125,885	22.2	11	1	164,292	35.8	292,095	89,669	31	Walter B. Jones	Greenville
				2	183,626	40.1	292,016	100,072	34	L. H. Fountain	Rocky Mount
				3	122,284	26.7	295,516	68,607	23	David N. Henderson	Camp LeJeune
				4	108,228	23.2	312,185	66,130	21	Ike F. Andrews	Central Raleigh
				6	95,625	20.9	302,110	56,967	19	L. Richardson Preyer	Greensboro
				7	119,632	25.6	293,448	67,430	23	Charles Rose	Fayetteville
				8	90,829	20.0	298,954	51,388	17	W. G. Hefner	Kannapolis
				9	99,750	21.7	296,456	56,829	19	James G. Martin	Charlotte
Ohio	970,145	9.1%	23	1	92,516	20.0	309,380	56,813	18	Willis D. Gradison, Jr.	Cincinnati
				21	306,661	66.3	304,594	183,491	60	Louis Stokes *	Cleveland
Pennsylvania	1,016,551	8.6%	25	1	187,428	39.2	330,957	115,333	35	William A. Barrett	Philadelphia
				2	305,679	65.0	321,572	186,791	58	Robert N. C. Nix *.	Philadelphia
				3	134,444	28.5	319,094	78,093	24	William J. Green	Philadelphia
				14	100,104	21.3	339,530	62,932	19	William S. Moorhead	Pittsburgh
South Carolina	788,455	30.4%	6	1	150,439	34.0	270,689	79,370	29	Mendel J. Davis	Charleston
				2	159,772	33.8	288,661	85,947	30	Floyd D. Spence	Columbia
				3	98,183	22.6	280,626	54,652	19	Butler C. Derrick	Anderson
				5	139,661	31.6	275,409	75,257	27	Kenneth L. Holland	Rock Hill
				6	173,313	42.2	243,094	88,252	36	John W. Jenrette	Florence
Tennessee	3,924,164	15.8%	8	8	234,469	47.5	329,034	135,930	41	Harold Ford *	Memphis
Texas	1,396,767	12.5	24	1	104,898	22.5	317,678	61,435	19	Wright Patman	Texarkana
				2	95,632	20.5	306,907	55,638	18	Charles Wilson	Lufkin
				5	91,825	19.7	297,053	55,825	19	Alan W. Steelman	Dallas
				9	102,612	22.0	297,954	59,144	20	Jack Brooks	Beaumont
				18	205,157	44.0	307,636	122,375	40	Barbara C. Jordan*	Houston
				24	122,602	26.3	289,997	64,266	22	Dale Milford	Dallas

Congressional Districts with 20 percent or more Black Population
JCPS Research Department -- December 1975

STATE	Total Black	Percent Black Population	Total Number Congressional Districts	Congressional District Number	Black Population of District	Percent Black of District	Total Voting Age Population of District	Black Voting Age Population	Percent Black Voting Age Population	Congressional Representative	Principal City In Congressional District
Virginia	860,302	18.5	10	1	140,490	30.1	302,235	82,094	27	Thomas N. Downing	New Port News
				2	100,295	21.6	309,989	60,290	19	G. William Whitehurst	Norfolk
				3	122,022	26.2	313,655	75,604	24	David E. Satterfield	Richmond
				4	172,765	37.1	295,660	99,035	34	Robert W. Daniel	Portsmouth
				5	133,994	29.0	298,768	75,136	25	Dan Daniel	Danville
Wisconsin	128,134	2.9	9	5	104,615	21.3	331,186	53,245	16	Henry S. Reuss	Milwaukee

III. THE BLACK VOTE IN SELECTED CONGRESSIONAL AND GUBERNATORIAL RACES, 1974

State	Elective Office (Principal City)	Percent Black in Congressional District	Number of Precincts in Sample	Major Candidates	Percent of Total Votes in Election	Total Votes in Sample Precincts	Percent of Total Votes in Sample Precincts	Black Voter Turnout: Total Votes in Sample Precinct / Total Registered in Sample Precinct	Black Voter Turnout: Percent of Blacks Voting in Sample Precinct
ALABAMA	House of Representatives								
	1st Congressional District	33	3	Edwards (R)*	61	875	28	$\frac{3149}{10,374}$ = 30%	
				Wilson (D)	36	2,274	72		
	2nd Congressional District	30	2	Dickinson (R)*	65	79	59		
				Chisler (D)	35	56	41		
	3rd Congressional District	31	14	Nichols (D)*	96	1,667	95		
				Connell (P)	4	81	5		
	4th Congressional District	9	2	Bevill (D)*		308	100		
				Carpenter (P)		0	--		
	6th Congressional District	30	13	Buchanan (R)*	57	1,340	13		
				Miglionico (D)	42	8,630	83		
				Boone (NDPA)	1	141	1		
				Dillard (P)	--	259	2		
	U. S. Senate								
	1st Congressional District	33	3	Allen (D)*	95	1,850	93	$\frac{1983}{10,374}$ = 19%	
				Abercrombie (P)	5	133	7		
ALABAMA (Cont.)	U. S. Senate (Cont.)								
	2nd Congressional District	30	2	Allen (D)*	95	135	97		
				Abercrombie (P)	5	4	3		
	3rd Congressional District	31	14	Allen (D)*	95	1,347	77		
				Abercrombie (P)	5	398	23		
	4th Congressional District	9	2	Allen (D)*	95	296	95		
				Abercrombie (P)	5	17	5		
	Gubernatorial								
	1st Congressional District	33	3	Wallace (D)*	85	1,874	81	$\frac{2306}{10,374}$ = 22%	
				McCary (R)	15	432	19		
	2nd Congressional District	30	2	Wallace (D)*	85	193	89		
				McCary (R)	15	23	11		
	3rd Congressional District	31	14	Wallace (D)*	85	1,259	70		
				McCary (R)	15	528	30		
	4th Congressional District	9	2	Wallace (D)*	85	230	79		
				McCary (R)	15	60	21		

State	Elective Office (Principal City)	Percent Black in Congressional District	Number of Precincts in Sample	Major Candidates	Percent of Total Votes in Election	Total Votes in Sample Precincts	Percent of Total Votes in Sample Precincts	Black Voter Turnout: Total Votes in Sample Precinct / Total Registered in Sample Precinct	Black Voter Turnout: Percent of Blacks Voting in Sample Precinct
ALABAMA (Cont.)	Gubernatorial (Cont.) 6th Congressional District	30	13	Wallace (D)*	85	6,616	76		
				McCary (R)	15	1,607	18		
CALIFORNIA	House of Representatives Los Angeles 28th Congressional District	40	4	Burke (D)*	82	618	95	$\frac{648}{1611}$ = 40%	
				Neddy (R)	18	30	5		
	29th Congressional District	59	6	Hawkins (D)*	100	781		$\frac{781}{2241}$ = 35%	
				Unopposed					
	U. S. Senate Los Angeles 28th Congressional District	40	4	Cranston (D)*	63	690	95	$\frac{730}{1611}$ = 45%	
				Richardson (R)	37	40	5		
	29th Congressional District	59	6	Cranston (D)*	63	1,141	98	$\frac{1168}{2241}$ = 52%	
				Richardson (R)	37	27	2		
CALIFORNIA (Cont.)	Gubernatorial Los Angeles 28th Congressional District	40	4	Brown (D)*	52	708	92	$\frac{766}{1611}$ = 48%	
				Flournoy (R)	48	58	8		
	29th Congressional District	59	6	Brown (D)*	52	1,231	98	$\frac{1262}{2241}$ = 56%	
				Flournoy (R)	48	31	2		
FLORIDA	House of Representatives 3rd Congressional District	26	25	Bennett (D)*	100				
				Unopposed					
	4th Congressional District	15	3	Chappell (D)*	68	435	91	$\frac{476}{2073}$ = 23%	
				Hauser (R)	32	41	9		
	5th Congressional District	16	5	Kelly (R)*	54	96	4	$\frac{2490}{7791}$ = 32%	
				Saunders (D)	46	2,394	96		
	7th Congressional District	13	5	Gibbons (D)*					
				Unopposed					

State	Elective Office (Principal City)	Percent Black in Congressional District	Number of Precincts in Sample	Major Candidates	Percent of Total Votes in Election	Total Votes in Sample Precincts	Percent of Total Votes in Sample Precincts	Black Voter Turnout: Total Votes in Sample Precinct / Total Registered in Sample Precinct	Black Voter Turnout: Percent of Blacks Voting in Sample Precinct
FLORIDA (Cont.)	8th Congressional District	14	2	Haley (D)*	57	542	84	646/2721	24%
				Lovingood (R)	43	104	16		
	9th Congressional District	8	1	Frey (R)*	77	167	38	434/1432	30%
				Rowland (D)	23	267	62		
	10th Congressional District	14	5	Bafalis (R)*	72	222	24	919/4486	20%
				Tucker (D)	28	697	76		
	11th Congressional District	18	9	Rogers (D)*	100				
				Unopposed					
	U. S. Senate 3rd Congressional District	26	25	Stone (D)*	44	7,404	83		
				Eckerd (R)	41	1,542	17		
	4th Congressional District	15	3	Stone (D)*	44	409	85	481/2073	23%
				Eckerd (R)	41	72	15		
	5th Congressional District	16	5	Stone (D)*	44	2,550	88	2923/7791	38%
				Eckerd (R)	41	373	9		
FLORIDA (Cont.)	7th Congressional District	13	5	Stone (D)*	44	1,694	74		
				Eckerd (R)	41	585	26		
	8th Congressional District	14	2	Stone (D)*	44	543	76	713/2721	26%
				Eckerd (R)	41	170	24		
	9th Congressional District	8	1	Stone (D)*	44	362	81	449/1432	31%
				Eckerd (R)	41	87	19		
	10th Congressional District	14	5	Stone (D)*	44	1,113	85	1307/4486	29%
				Eckerd (R)	41	194	15		
	11th Congressional District	18	9	Stone (D)*	44	3,743	88		
				Eckerd (R)	41	517	12		
	Gubernatorial 3rd Congressional District	26	25	Askew (D)*	61	10,640	94		
				Thomas (R)	39	694	6		
	4th Congressional District	15	3	Askew (D)*	61	562	91	618/2073	30%
				Thomas (R)	39	56	9		

State	Elective Office (Principal City)	Percent Black in Congressional District	Number of Precincts in Sample	Major Candidates	Percent of Total Votes in Election	Total Votes in Sample Precincts	Percent of Total Votes in Sample Precincts	Black Voter Turnout: Total Votes in Sample Precinct / Total Registered in Sample Precinct	Black Voter Turnout: Percent of Blacks Voting in Sample Precinct
FLORIDA (Cont.)	5th Congressional District	16	5	Askew (D)*	61	3,042	97	3129/7791 = 40%	
				Thomas (R)	39	87	3		
	7th Congressional District	13	5	Askew (D)*	61	2,569	94		
				Thomas (R)	39	164	6		
	8th Congressional District	14	2	Askew (D)*	61	813	92	882/2721 = 32%	
				Thomas (R)	39	69	8		
	9th Congressional District	3	1	Askew (D)*	61	442	87	508/1432 = 35%	
				Thomas (R)	39	66	13		
	10th Congressional District	14	5	Askew (D)*	61	1,390	93	1492/4486 = 33%	
				Thomas (R)	39	102	7		
	11th Congressional District	13	9	Askew (D)*	61	4,540	89		
				Thomas (R)	39	539	11		
ILLINOIS	House of Representatives 17th Congressional District	9	7	O'Brien (R)*	52	714	38		
				Moulihan (D)	48	1,151	62		
	U. S. Senate 17th Congressional District	9	7	Stevenson (D)*	62	1,222	66		
				Burditt (R)	38	622	34		
KANSAS	House of Representatives 4th Congressional District	7	8	Shriver (R)*	54	641	34		
				Chaney (D)	46	1,032	55	1864/4221 = 44%	
				Stevens (A)	--	191	10		
	U. S. Senate 4th Congressional District	7	8	Dole (R)*	51	367	17		
				Roy (D)	49	1,748	83	2115/4221 = 50%	
	Gubernatorial 4th Congressional District	7	8	Bennett (R)*	50	666	34		
				Miller (D)	50	1,170	60	1955/4221 = 46%	
				Uncapher (P)	--	119	6		

State	Elective Office (Principal City)	Percent Black in Congressional District	Number of Precincts in Sample	Major Candidates	Percent of Total Votes in Election	Total Votes in Sample Precincts	Percent of Total Votes in Sample Precincts	Black Voter Turnout: Total Votes in Sample Precinct / Total Registered in Sample Precinct	Black Voter Turnout: Percent of Blacks Voting in Sample Precinct
LOUISIANA	House of Representatives								
	3rd Congressional District	15	3	Treen (R)*	59	103	16		
				Grisbaum (D)	41	558	84		
	5th Congressional District	35	4	Passman (D)*	100	941	100	$\frac{941}{3639}$ = 26%	
				Unopposed					
	6th Congressional District	30	18	Moore (R)*	50	163	2	$\frac{10,090}{16,123}$ = 63%	
				LaCaze (D)	50	9,927	98		
	7th Congressional District	21	2	Breaux (D)*	89	303	97		
				Millett (I-D)	11	10	3		
	8th Congressional District	36	5	Long (D)*	100	498	100	$\frac{498}{4026}$ = 12%	
				Unopposed					
	U. S. Senate								
	3rd Congressional District	15	3	Long (D)	100	261	100		
				Unopposed					
LOUISIANA (Cont.)	5th Congressional District	35	4	Long (D)*	100	995	100	$\frac{995}{3639}$ = 27%	
				Unopposed					
	7th Congressional District	21	2	Long (D)*	100	232	100		
				Unopposed					
	8th Congressional District	36	5	Long (D)*	100	547	100	$\frac{547}{4026}$ = 14%	
				Unopposed					
MARYLAND	U. S. Senate								
	7th Congressional District	74	12	Mathias (R)*	57		52		
				Mikulski (D)	43		48		
MASSACHUSETTS	House of Representatives								
	Boston								
	9th Congressional District	20		Moakley (D)*	89				
				Sherman (USLP)	11				

State	Elective Office (Principal City)	Percent Black in Congressional District	Number of Precincts in Sample	Major Candidates	Percent of Total Votes in Election	Total Votes in Sample Precincts	Percent of Total Votes in Sample Precincts	Black Voter Turnout	
								Total Votes in Sample Precinct / Total Registered in Sample Precinct	Percent of Blacks Voting in Sample Precinct
MASS. (Cont.)	Gubernatorial Boston 9th Congressional District	20	6	Dukakis (D)* Sargent (R)	56 44	2,446 6,202	28 72	$\frac{8648}{20,110}$ = 43%	
MICHIGAN	Gubernatorial Detroit		11	Milliken (R)* Levin (D)	52 47	16,083 116,350	12 88	$\frac{132,433}{342,785}$ = 39%	
MISSISSIPPI	House of Representatives 4th Congressional District	43	20	Cochran (R)* Dean (D)	70 30	495 5,794	8 92		
MISSOURI	House of Representatives 1st Congressional District	54	10	Clay (D)* Martin (R)	68 32	32,615 2,497	93 7	$\frac{35,112}{66,122}$ = 53%	
	U. S. Senate 1st Congressional District	54	10	Eagleton (D)* Curtis (R)	60 40	32,552 2,775	92 8	$\frac{35,327}{66,122}$ = 53%	
NEW JERSEY	House of Representatives Newark 10th Congressional District	52	2	Rodino (D)* Taliaferro (R)	84 16	11,803 1,483	89 11	$\frac{13,286}{41,314}$ = 32%	
NEW YORK	U. S. Senate 19th Congressional District	59	4	Javits (R)* Clark (D) Keating (C)	45 39 16	16,879 45,904 3,085	26 70 4		
	Gubernatorial 19th Congressional District	59	4	Carey (D)* Wilson (R)	59 41	45,038 10,595	81 9		
NORTH CAROLINA	House of Representatives 1st Congressional District	36	2	Jones (D)* McMullan (R)	78 22	338 24	93 7	$\frac{362}{1371}$ = 26%	

State	Elective Office (Principal City)	Percent Black in Congressional District	Number of Precincts in Sample	Major Candidates	Percent of Total Votes in Election	Total Votes in Sample Precincts	Percent of Total Votes in Sample Precincts	Black Voter Turnout: Total Votes in Sample Precinct / Total Registered in Sample Precinct	Black Voter Turnout: Percent of Blacks Voting in Sample Precinct
NORTH CAROLINA (Cont.)	2nd Congressional District	40	1	Fountain (D)*	100	484	100	$\frac{484}{2035}$	= 24%
				Unopposed					
	3rd Congressional District	27	1	Henderson (D)*	100	550	100	$\frac{550}{18[illegible]}$	= 29%
				Unopposed					
	4th Congressional District	23	4	Andrews (D)*	65	1,480	95	$\frac{1557}{4736}$	= 33%
				Purrington (R)	35	77	5		
	5th Congressional District	14	5	Neal (D)*	52	2,214	96		
				Mizell (R)	48	84	4		
	7th Congressional District	26	2	Rose (D)*	100	602	100		
				Unopposed					
	8th Congressional District	20	1	Hefner (D)*	57	522	87	$\frac{600}{1181}$	= 51%
				Ruth (R)	43	78	13		
	9th Congressional District	22	10	Martin (R)*	56	500	16	$\frac{3077}{15,793}$	= 19%
				Short (D)	44	2,577	84		
NORTH CAROLINA (Cont.)	10th Congressional District	11	1	Broyhill (R)*	54	56	12		
				Rhyne (D)	46	402	88		
	U. S. Senate 1st Congressional District	36	2	Morgan (D)*	63	316	93	$\frac{340}{1371}$	= 25%
				Stevens (R)	37	24	7		
	2nd Congressional District	40	1	Morgan (D)*	63	559	94	$\frac{593}{2035}$	= 29%
				Stevens (R)	37	34	6		
	3rd Congressional District	27	1	Morgan (D)*	63	497	75	$\frac{664}{1882}$	= 35%
				Stevens (R)	37	167	25		
	4th Congressional District	23	4	Morgan (D)*	63	1,452	90	$\frac{1622}{4736}$	= 34%
				Stevens	37	170	10		
	5th Congressional District	14	5	Morgan (D)*	63	2,097	89		
				Stevens (R)	37	267	11		

State	Elective Office (Principal City)	Percent Black in Congressional District	Number of Precincts in Sample	Major Candidates	Percent of Total Votes in Election	Total Votes in Sample Precincts	Percent of Total Votes in Sample Precincts	Black Voter Turnout: Total Votes in Sample Precinct / Total Registered in Sample Precinct; Percent of Blacks Voting in Sample Precinct
NORTH CAROLINA (Cont.)	7th Congressional District	26	2	Morgan (D)*	63	632	97	
				Stevens (R)	37	22	3	
	8th Congressional District	20	1	Morgan (D)*	63	532	89	$\frac{598}{1181}$ = 51%
				Stevens (R)	37	66	11	
	9th Congressional District	22	10	Morgan (D)*	63	2,941	86	$\frac{3412}{15,793}$ = 22%
				Stevens (R)	37	471	14	
	10th Congressional District	11	1	Morgan (D)*	63	425	92	
				Stevens (R)	37	39	8	
OHIO	House of Representatives Cincinnati 1st Congressional District	20	26	Gradison (R)*	51	641	11	$\frac{5961}{11,551}$ = 52%
				Luken (D)	49	5,320	89	
	Cleveland 21st Congressional District	66	11	Stokes (D)*	82	35,721	94	$\frac{38,066}{87,653}$ = 43%
				Mack (R)	18	2,345	6	
OHIO (Cont.)	U. S. Senate Cincinnati 1st Congressional District	20	26	Glenn (D)*	68	4,765	92	$\frac{5205}{11,551}$ = 45%
				Perk (R)	32	440	8	
	Cleveland 21st Congressional District	66	11	Glenn (D)*	68	30,065	85	$\frac{35,534}{87,653}$ = 41%
				Perk (R)	32	5,469	15	
	Gubernatorial Cincinnati 1st Congressional District	20	26	Rhodes (R)*	50	829	14	$\frac{6008}{11,551}$ = 52%
				Gilligan (D)	50	5,179	86	
	Cleveland 21st Congressional District	66	11	Rhodes (R)*	50	7,138	18	$\frac{40,118}{87,653}$ = 46%
				Gilligan (D)	50	32,980	82	
OKLAHOMA	House of Representatives 1st Congressional District	9	17	Jones (D)*	68	3,477	92	$\frac{3778}{9948}$ = 38%
				Mizer (R)	32	301	8	

State	Elective Office (Principal City)	Percent Black in Congressional District	Number of Precincts in Sample	Major Candidates	Percent of Total Votes in Election	Total Votes in Sample Precincts	Percent of Total Votes in Sample Precincts	Black Voter Turnout: Total Votes in Sample Precinct / Total Registered in Sample Precinct	Black Voter Turnout: Percent of Blacks Voting in Sample Precinct
OKLAHOMA (Cont.)	U. S. Senate								
	1st Congressional District	9	17	Bellmon (R)*	50	911	23	$\frac{4001}{9948}$ = 40%	
				Edmondson (D)	50	3,090	77		
	5th Congressional District	11	10	Bellmon (R)*	50	933	38		
				Edmondson (D)	50	1,527	62		
	Gubernatorial								
	1st Congressional District	9	17	Boren (D)*	64	3,588	86	$\frac{4191}{9948}$ = 42%	
				Inhofe (R)	36	603	14		
	5th Congressional District	11	10	Boren (D)*	64	2,183	85		
				Inhofe (R)	36	390	15		
SOUTH CAROLINA	House of Representatives								
	1st Congressional District	34	8	Davis (D)*	75	3,165	89	$\frac{3576}{7797}$ = 46%	
				Rast (R)	25	411	11		
SOUTH CAROLINA (Cont.)	2nd Congressional District	34	5	Spence (R)*	57	115	2	$\frac{5225}{9989}$ = 52%	
				Perry (D)	43	5,110	98		
	5th Congressional District	32	7	Holland (D)*	62	1,527	93	$\frac{1647}{3742}$ = 44%	
				Phillips (R)	38	120	7		
	6th Congressional District	42	12	Jenrette (D)*	52		97		
				Young (R)	48		3		
	U. S. Senate								
	1st Congressional District	34	8	Hollings (D)*	71	3,186	88	$\frac{3615}{7797}$ = 46%	
				Bush (R)	29	429	12		
	2nd Congressional District	34	5	Hollings (D)*	71	4,746	98	$\frac{4842}{9989}$ = 48%	
				Bush (R)	29	96	2		
	5th Congressional District	32	7	Hollings (D)*	71	1,552	94	$\frac{1652}{3742}$ = 44%	
				Bush (R)	29	100	6		

State	Elective Office (Principal City)	Percent Black in Congressional District	Number of Precincts in Sample	Major Candidates	Percent of Total Votes in Election	Total Votes in Sample Precincts	Percent of Total Votes in Sample Precincts	Black Voter Turnout	
								Total Votes in Sample Precinct / Total Registered in Sample Precinct	Percent of Blacks Voting in Sample Precinct
SOUTH CAROLINA (Cont.)	Gubernatorial								
	1st Congressional District	34	8	Edwards (R)*	52	1,207	32	$\frac{3758}{7797}$ = 48%	
				Dorn (D)	48	2,551	68		
	2nd Congressional District	34	5	Edwards (R)*	52	274	5	$\frac{5064}{9989}$ = 51%	
				Dorn (D)	48	4,790	95		
	5th Congressional District	32	7	Edwards (R)*	52	166	10	$\frac{1701}{3742}$ = 45%	
				Dorn (D)	48	1,535	90		
TENNESSEE	House of Representatives								
	Nashville								
	5th Congressional District	19	4	Fulton (D)*	100	2,951	100		
				Unopposed					
	8th Congressional District	48	7	Ford (D)*	50	6,561	94	$\frac{6993}{12,903}$ = 54%	
				Kuykendall (R)	50	432	6		
TENNESSEE (Cont.)	Gubernatorial								
	Nashville								
	5th Congressional District	19	4	Blanton (D)*	56	2,837	90		
				Alexander (R)	44	320	10		
	8th Congressional District	48	7	Blanton (D)*	56	5,829	90	$\frac{6482}{12,903}$ = 50%	
				Alexander (R)	44	653	10		
TEXAS	House of Representatives								
	Houston								
	8th Congressional District	19	2	Eckhardt (D)*	73	805	97	$\frac{833}{4881}$ = 17%	
				Whitefield (R)	27	28	3		
	18th Congressional District	44	6	Jordan (D)*	86	2,714	99	$\frac{2735}{12,131}$ = 23%	
				Mitchell (R)	14	21	1		
	22nd Congressional District	13	1	Casey (D)*	71	561	98	$\frac{571}{2861}$ = 20%	
				Paul (R)	29	10	2		

State	Elective Office (Principal City)	Percent Black in Congressional District	Number of Precincts in Sample	Major Candidates	Percent of Total Votes in Election	Total Votes in Sample Precincts	Percent of Total Votes in Sample Precincts	Black Voter Turnout: Total Votes in Sample Precinct / Total Registered in Sample Precinct; Percent of Blacks Voting in Sample Precinct
TEXAS (Cont.)	Gubernatorial							
	8th Congressional District	19	2	Briscoe (D)*	63	872	95	$\frac{917}{4881}$ = 19%
				Granberry (R)	32	45	5	
	18th Congressional District	44	6	Briscoe (D)*	63	2,452	97	$\frac{2518}{12,131}$ = 21%
				Granberry (R)	32	66	3	
	22nd Congressional District	13	1	Briscoe (D)*	63	589	98	$\frac{604}{2861}$ = 21%
				Granberry (R)	32	15	2	
VIRGINIA	House of Representatives							
	Norfolk 2nd Congressional District	22	12	Whitehurst (R)*	60	1,082	13	$\frac{8370}{23,009}$ = 36%
				Richards (D)	40	7,288	87	
	Richmond 3rd Congressional District	26	16	Satterfield (D)*	90	2,602	66	$\frac{3965}{22,196}$ = 18%
				Ogden (IND)	10	1,363	34	
VIRGINIA (Cont.)	4th Congressional District	37	11	Daniel (R)*	47	333	4	
				Schlitz (D)	36	4,783	54	
				Harris (IND)	17	3,748	42	

Source: United States Bureau of the Census, Congressional District Data Book, 93rd Congress (Washington, D. C.: Data User Services Office, 1972).

* Indicates winner of race.

IV. DELEGATE VOTES BY STATE, 1976

STATE	DELEGATE VOTES	STATE	DELEGATE VOTES
Alabama	35	Missouri	71
Alaska	10	Montana	17
Arizona	25	Nebraska	23
Arkansas	26	Nevada	11
California	280	New Hampshire	17
Canal Zone	3	New Jersey	108
Colorado	35	New Mexico	18
Connecticut	51	New York	274
Delaware	12	North Carolina	61
Democrats Abroad	3	North Dakota	13
District of Columbia	17	Ohio	152
Florida	81	Oklahoma	37
Georgia	50	Oregon	34
Guam	3	Pennsylvania	178
Hawaii	17	Puerto Rico	22
Idaho	16	Rhode Island	22
Illinois	169	South Carolina	31
Indiana	75	South Dakota	17
Iowa	47	Tennessee	46
Kansas	34	Texas	130
Kentucky	46	Utah	18
Louisiana	41	Vermont	12
Maine	20	Virginia	54
Maryland	53	Virgin Islands	3
Massachusetts	104	Washington	53
Michigan	133	West Virginia	33
Minnesota	65	Wisconsin	68
Mississippi	24	Wyoming	10

V. Black elected officials in the United States as of May 1975

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	TOTAL	FEDERAL		STATE			COUNTY		MUNICIPAL				LAW ENFORCEMENT				EDUCATION		
		SENATORS	REPRESENTATIVES	STATE EXECUTIVES	SENATORS	REPRESENTATIVES	COMMISSIONERS, SUPERVISORS, COUNCILMEN	OTHER COUNTY OFFICIALS	MAYORS	VICE MAYORS, MAYORS PRO TEM	COUNCILMEN, ALDERMEN, COMMISSIONERS	OTHER LOCAL OFFICIALS	JUDGES, JUSTICES, MAGISTRATES	CHIEFS OF POLICE, CONSTABLES, MARSHALS, SHERIFFS	JUSTICES OF THE PEACE	OTHER LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS	STATE AND COLLEGE BOARDS	LOCAL SCHOOL BOARDS	OTHER EDUCATION OFFICIALS
Alabama	161	-	-	-	2	13	11	6	8	2	45	3	1	46	-	4	-	20	-
Alaska	5	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
Arizona	17	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	1	-	-	-	9	-
Arkansas	171	-	-	-	1	3	21	-	9	1	59	11	-	1	-	-	-	65	-
California	147	-	3	2	2	5	-	1	6	2	30	18	18	-	-	-	13	47	-
Colorado	15	-	-	1	1	2	-	-	2	-	4	-	3	1	-	-	-	1	-
Connecticut	48	-	-	1	1	4	-	-	-	2	23	4	-	3	1	-	-	9	-
Delaware	14	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	2	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Dist. of Columbia	20	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-
Florida	87	-	-	-	-	3	2	-	9	4	53	2	6	-	-	-	-	8	-
Georgia	168	-	1	-	2	19	11	1	2	4	81	2	3	-	4	1	-	36	1
Idaho	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Illinois	246	-	2	-	5	14	12	-	8	-	100	25	15	-	-	1	5	59	-
Indiana	66	-	-	-	1	5	6	1	1	-	36	-	7	1	2	-	-	6	-
Iowa	13	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	1	5	-
Kansas	35	-	-	-	1	5	3	-	2	-	8	3	1	-	-	-	-	12	-
Kentucky	59	-	-	-	1	2	1	-	1	1	36	-	3	3	-	1	-	10	-
Louisiana	237	-	-	-	1	8	45	-	8	1	60	-	4	17	12	1	4	76	-
Maine	4	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Maryland	83	-	1	-	5	14	3	-	6	2	39	-	7	-	-	1	-	5	-
Massachusetts	24	1	-	-	1	7	-	-	-	-	7	2	-	-	-	-	-	6	-
Michigan	223	-	2	1	4	11	26	4	10	3	45	11	22	3	-	-	14	67	-
Minnesota	8	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	1	-	-	-	2	-
Mississippi	192	-	-	-	-	1	11	18	7	3	53	19	-	21	18	2	-	37	2
Missouri	113	-	1	-	2	13	3	-	5	1	50	6	10	5	-	-	-	17	-
Montana	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nebraska	4	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
Nevada	7	-	-	-	1	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	-
New Hampshire	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
New Jersey	142	-	-	-	1	6	7	-	8	-	51	1	-	-	-	-	-	68	-
New Mexico	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
New York	159	-	2	-	4	10	8	-	1	1	16	2	27	-	-	-	-	88	-
North Carolina	194	-	-	-	2	4	12	-	10	14	101	-	5	-	-	-	-	46	-
Ohio	146	-	1	-	2	9	1	-	10	2	74	7	13	-	-	-	2	25	-
Oklahoma	68	-	-	-	1	3	1	-	7	2	21	12	1	-	-	-	-	20	-
Oregon	6	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	-
Pennsylvania	122	-	1	-	3	11	-	2	-	-	37	3	25	11	6	1	-	22	-
Rhode Island	3	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
South Carolina	132	-	-	-	-	13	20	2	6	4	46	-	15	-	-	-	-	26	-
Tennessee	96	-	1	-	2	9	43	-	-	1	26	-	3	3	-	-	-	8	-
Texas	150	-	1	-	-	9	1	-	5	6	47	2	2	4	3	-	1	69	-
Virginia	64	-	-	-	1	1	15	2	2	6	34	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-
Washington	15	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	6	1	4	-	-	-	-	2	-
West Virginia	17	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	2	9	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	-
Wisconsin	15	-	-	-	1	2	2	-	-	-	5	-	1	-	-	-	-	4	-
Wyoming	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
TOTALS	3503	1	17	5	53	223	287	38	135	88	1237	135	204	122	48	12	42	894	3

Note: No black elected officials were found in Hawaii, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah or Vermont.